The Venetian Qur'an

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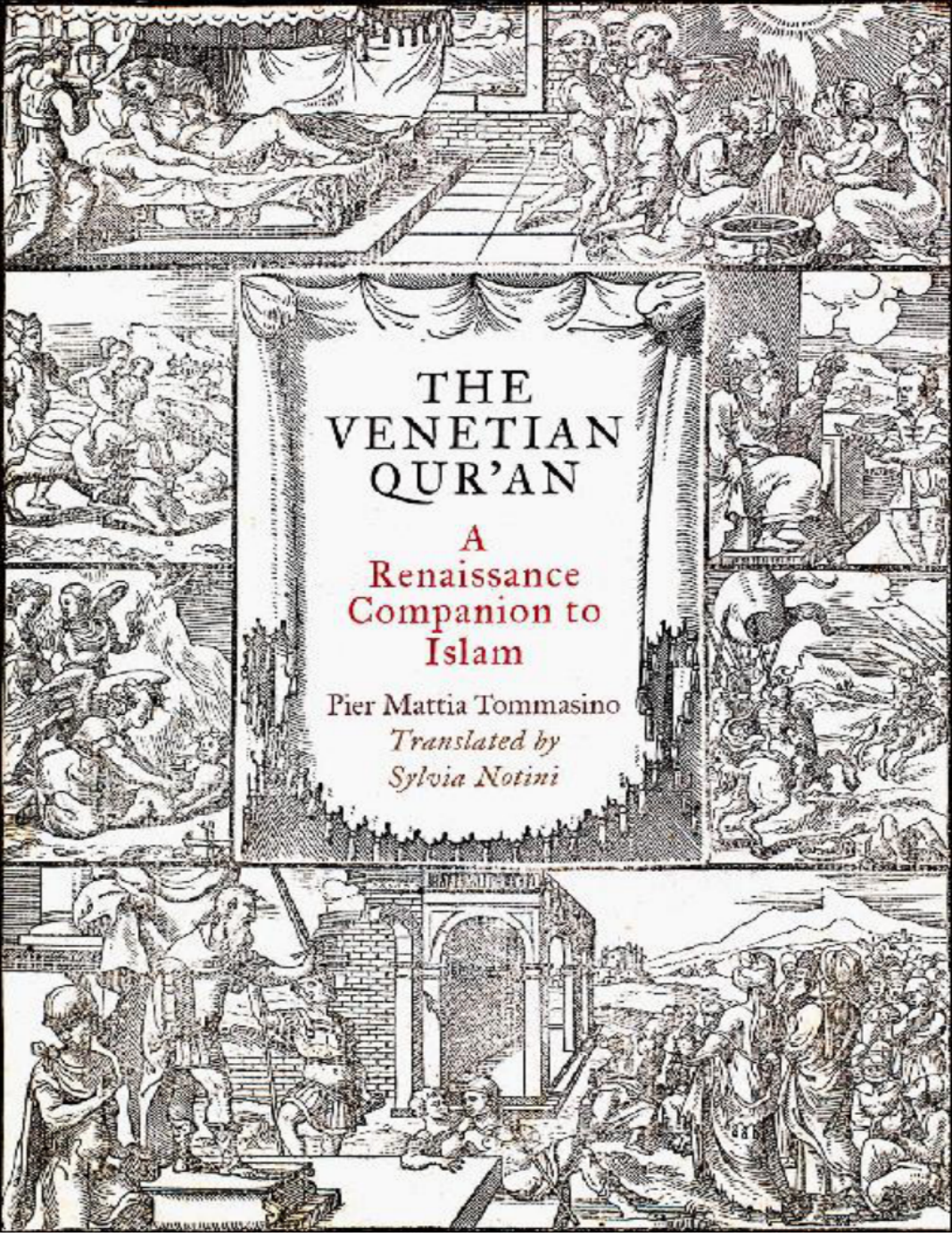


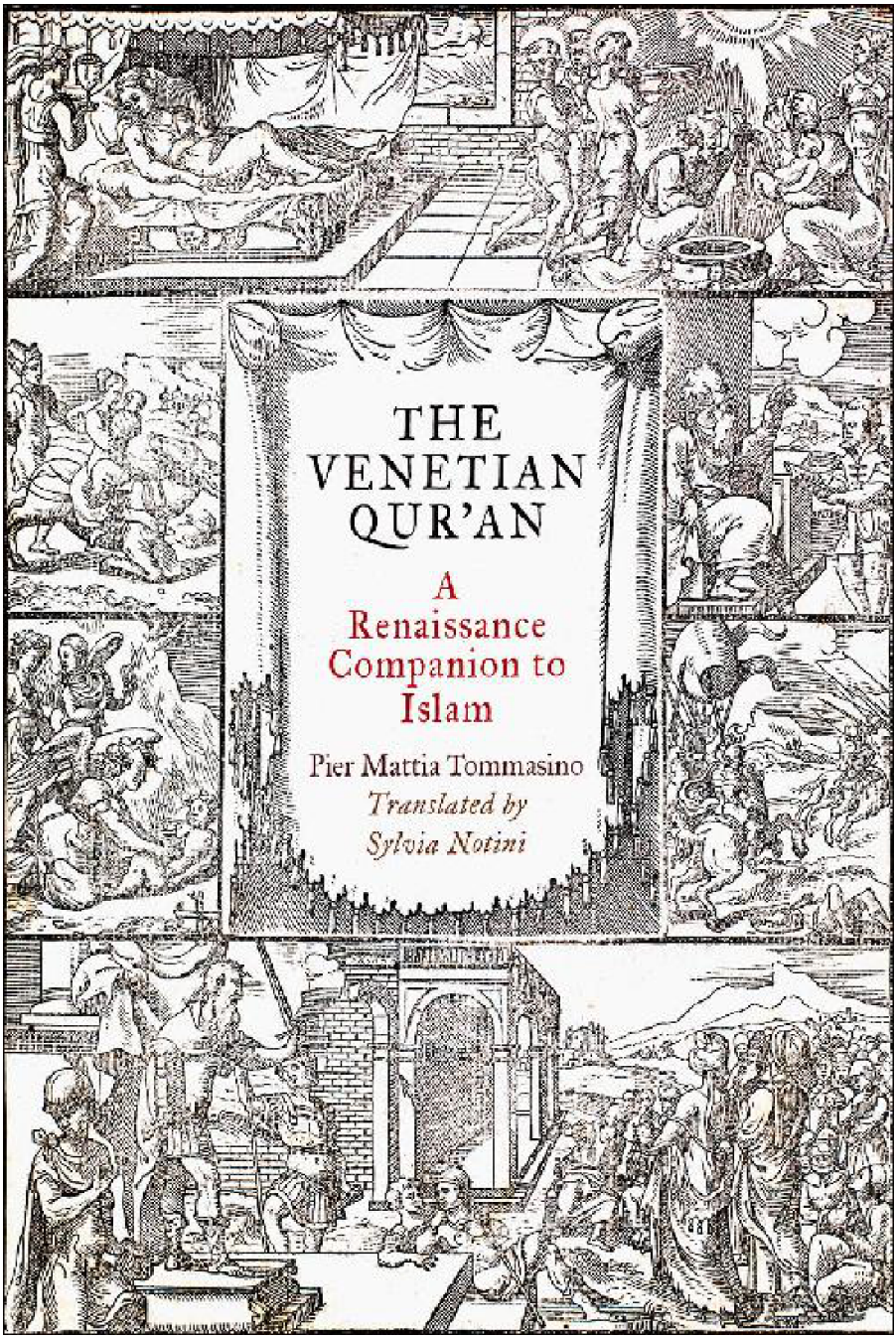
THE VENETIAN QUR'AN

A Renaissance Companion to Islam

Pier Mattia Tommasino

Translated by

Sylvia Notini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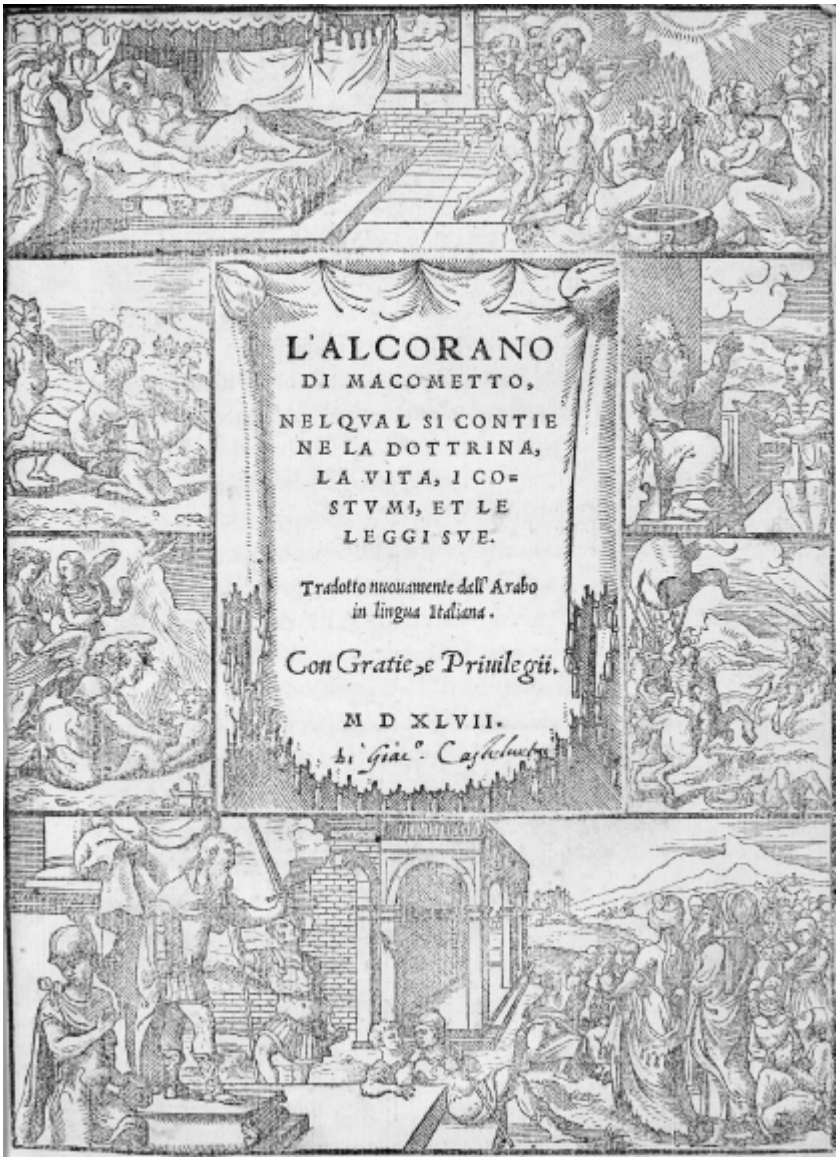

L'ALCORANO
DI MACOMETTO,

NEL QVAL SI CONTIE
NE LA DOTTRINA,
LA VITA, I CO=
STVMI, ET LE
LEGGI SVE.

Tradotto nouamente dall' Arabo
in lingua Italiana.

Con Gratie, e Priuilegii.

M D XLVII.

di Giac.° Castelvetro

The Venetian Qur'an

A RENAISSANCE COMPANION TO ISLAM

Pier Mattia Tommasino

Translated by Sylvia Notini

PENN

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS *Philadelphia*

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THIS BOOK IS MADE POSSIBLE BY A COLLABORATIVE GRANT
FROM THE ANDREW W. MELLON FOUNDATION.

Originally published as *L'Alcorano di Macometto: Storia di un libro del Cinquecento europeo* by Pier Mattia Tommasino © Il Mulino 2013

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Published by
University of Pennsylvania Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104–4112
www.upenn.edu/pennpress

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-0-8122-5012-1

Frontispiece: Title page of *L'Alcorano di Macometto* (Venice, 1547), Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 28.270.

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Some years ago, as a graduate student at the Scuola Normale Superiore, I began to consult on a daily basis the exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto* in the University Library of Pisa. More than one spring afternoon was spent reading and transcribing a Renaissance companion to Islam, the second half of which contained the first printed translation of the Qur'an in a European language. Published by Andrea Arrivabene in Venice in 1547, this book is well known to experts on a number of subjects. Carlo Ginzburg's essay on the cosmos of the miller Menocchio, *The Cheese and the Worms*, brought it to the attention of historians and made it known to a wide readership. European scholars of Oriental languages have been familiar with it for some time. Beginning with the European proto-Orientalists of the second half of the sixteenth century, the *Alcorano di Macometto* was considered fraudulent, an act of plagiarism, an imposture. It was seen as a partial, arbitrary, and awkward translation of the Qur'an, in actual fact translated from the medieval Latin version by Robert of Ketton (1143) and not at all what the publisher stated on the title page: "Newly translated from the Arabic into the Italian tongue."

Given my background in linguistic and philological studies on medieval Italian poetry, the exemplar before me, marked D'Ancona 16.7.10, was a novel object. Half bound in green leather and marble paper, the book revealed visible traces of its history and its owners: on the title page, the stamp of "Dono D'Ancona" to the University Library of Pisa and, on the back of the front cover, a printed ex -libris that read: "Ex libris Jacobj Manzoni."

As I read and transcribed the text during the spring of 2004, enjoying the breeze that blew in through the library windows overlooking Piazza Dante, I paid little attention to those notes of ownership. I did not question whether, how, or why Alessandro D'Ancona (1835–1914), director of the Scuola Normale di Pisa from 1892 to 1900, had read the so-called Arrivabene Qur'an before donating it to the library of the university where he taught for many years. Nor did I notice the ex libris of one of the greatest nineteenth-century Italian bibliophiles: Count Giacomo Manzoni (1816–89). Both men were prominent figures during the Risorgimento and in the first post-Unification period, and both, for different reasons, had owned the same copy of the book whose story is told here. Later, unsurprisingly, it was in the essay *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente* (The Legend of Muhammad in the West) by D'Ancona of 1888–89 (republished in 1994), that a tantalizing piece of information caught my attention, an old insight into the *Alcorano di Macometto* made in passing that had remained unexplored for over a century. I

followed it up, and my findings on the historiographic and political background of the translator and editor of this Renaissance companion to Islam are contained in Chapter 7, "*Scribendae Historiae Gratia*."[1]

During those first readings I understood, however vaguely, that beyond the criticism of historians Carlo De Frede and Elena Bonora, among others, and beyond the insights of scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies in early modern Europe, including Angelo Michele Piemontese, Hartmut Bobzin, and Alastair Hamilton, the Arrivabene Qur'an was characterized by problems that were still unresolved and that needed to be discussed. At the same time, I knew that dealing with the subject appropriately would require a very complex strategy, a strategy that demanded working in between disciplines in a way that was systematic, but which would often prove to be slippery as well. Initially, the process was hardly gratifying, yet I had the energy, enthusiasm, and above all the time to follow it through. I was also backed by an institution, the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, which provided the opportunity to improve my knowledge of Arabic and Qur'an studies for at least two years: I studied the former at Dar Comboni in Cairo, directed at the time by Father Camillo Ballin (2004–5), and the latter at the Pontifical Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies in Rome under the watchful guidance of Michel Lagarde (2005–6). I had chosen that particular topic—which I then knew very little about—because I was intrigued by the Arabic language and Islamic culture, and wanted to merge this new fascination with the philological and literary studies I had already undertaken.

My interest in Arabic and Islamic culture had early beginnings, during my childhood. My father Luigi, a nuclear physicist, was an expert on the measurement of radon gas and, during the 1980s, my family often hosted students, friends, and colleagues from the Arab and Muslim world. I fondly remember Zohra Lounis, Djamel Eddine Cherouati and Salah Djeffal, Mashid Lofti and her husband, Dariush Azimi Garakani, and their son Navid. I also remember Hameed Ahmed Khan, a native of Pakistan, who tried to convert me, to no avail, from my unshakable and fanatic devotion to soccer to the luminous revelations of cricket. Childhood memories, interest, friendship, curiosity. Two decades later, all this came back into my life as a college then graduate student, but in an entirely new form, a methodological one. To understand the *Alcorano di Macometto* and, more generally, the cultural and religious interweavings, the contacts and overlaps, and the polemical manipulations of texts between early modern Italy and the Islamic world, I needed to know Arabic and be familiar with Islam and the Qur'an. With a hint of presumption, I was not content to merely scratch the surface. I did not want to analyze representations of the Ottomans in European Renaissance literature. Nor did I want to avoid going deeper, or to limit myself to analyzing just the projections of Italian intellectuals, writers, and artists on the mirror of the Ottoman East. I wanted to break that mirror and delve much deeper. At the same time, I questioned whether I would succeed and, above all, wondered

what I would find. Would the outcome be equal to my efforts?[2]

Alfredo Stussi put me to the test when, in 2005, he assigned me to analyze the spoken Arabic of the character of the gipsy in the comedy *La Zìngana* (The Gipsy) by Rovigo-born Gigio Artemio Giancarli (d. before 1561). The comedy was performed in Venice in 1545 and published in Mantua between 1545 and 1546 by Venturino Ruffinelli. This was my first published research article. Written between Cairo and Rome during 2005–6, it was published in the Italian journal *Lingua e Stile* by Il Mulino, the Italian publisher of this book. This essay was followed by further studies based on two specular, intersecting, and often inseparable strands. The first of these was European Orientalism, both erudite and popular, with particular interest in the distortions and manipulations made to the text of the Qur'an for the purposes of religious propaganda. The second concerned the spread of the Italian language in the Mediterranean, especially by non-Italians who used Italian for commercial, diplomatic, religious, and literary purposes. These studies are ongoing and their goal is to understand the historical and geographical ties between the European prestige of the Italian language and its practical uses in the Mediterranean and beyond, which are also part of the debate on the issue of the church and the diffusion of vernaculars, and that of Italian as a *lingua senza impero* (a language without an empire) according to the definition given by the historian of the Italian language Francesco Bruni.[3]

These areas of investigation have developed surrounded by equal amounts of enthusiasm and difficulty over the past fifteen years; that is to say, after September 11 and all that followed turned the spotlight on the cultures of Islam in mass societies. Similarly, in the early modern period, each time there was a diplomatic or military conflict between European countries and the Ottoman Empire the interest in Islam was rekindled. In recent years, renewed interest in Islam has also affected the academic world, and this has in turn been affected by the development of world and connected history.

Alongside the geopolitical thinking that followed the Cold War, and while Bernard Lewis's and Samuel Huntington's theories of the *Clash of Civilizations* were being waved like a flag or attacked in the prefaces of scholarly books, something else was taking place as well. On a smaller scale, some seminal works were being published in the disciplines I would ultimately pursue. One such work was a 1994 reprint of the essay by Alessandro D'Ancona, which perhaps became D'Ancona's most successful throughout Europe in recent decades because of the new interest on Islam. But most importantly, the influential work by Hartmut Bobzin on the Qur'an during the age of reform (1995) and a seminal essay by Angelo Michele Piemontese on the Qur'ans of Ficino, Pico, and Flavius Mithridates (1996) had recently been published. These works paved the way and established the direction for all subsequent studies on the diffusion of Arabic and Islamic studies in early modern Europe, following in the tracks of research into medieval Latin translations. These tracks had until then been followed more in northern

Europe and in Spain than in Italy, and they have now led to new results thanks to lively centers and projects like Islamolatina (La percepción del Islam en la Europa latina) at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and the Center for the History of Arabic Studies in Europe at the Warburg Institute in London. During those same years other questions were posed, either for the first time or restated. The Anglo-Maltese linguist Joseph Cremona goaded his Italian colleagues as he began publishing his short, painstakingly accurate essays on the Italian used by non-Italian diplomats and consuls in early modern Tunisia. Cremona's work was immediately followed by the scholars and members of the Centro Internazionale sul Pluringuismo at the University of Udine, as well as by Francesco Bruni, Laura Minervini, and Daniele Baglioni, with an eye to the studies conducted by Gianfranco Folena and Furio Brugnolo on the diffusion of the Italian language in Europe.[4]

I closely followed all these directions, with a particular focus on the context I was going to have to deal with: Venice in the 1540s, a center of nonconformist religious propaganda, a place for refugees and spies, a city of translators and editors, and the capital of publishing.

I have chosen to describe how I went about my research because it was not an isolated case; on reflection, it now seems more and more like the work carried out by the many scholars who belong to my generation. And, of course, I have chosen to talk about my personal experience so that it can be of help in understanding the process from which this book was born and the questions as well as the results it puts forward. The book you are holding is neither the study of a scholar in Oriental languages nor the work of a historian of the book, nor is it simply that of a historian of the Italian language and literature. It is the first book by a scholar who placed at the center of his work an object of study and not a discipline. It is also the work of a scholar who used many epistemological tools to analyze a Renaissance companion to Islam published in Venice in 1547, and thus describe a significant moment in sixteenth-century Italian society and, of equal importance, the adventure of a man, of an unknown translator.

The heart of this book demonstrates that the Arrivabene Qur'an is actually a handy companion to Islam that was translated and edited by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno. The publisher Arrivabene entrusted his editorial project to a man who remained anonymous and who now, after four and a half centuries, has emerged from the shadows: a little-known man from Belluno who lived from 1517 to 1588. But who was Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, what was his life like, and what were his intellectual passions? Was he just a polygraph, an evanescent ghostwriter of the sixteenth century? Or was he simply a local antiquarian as he is described in the historiography of the Venetian Terraferma? It seems that he was not just these things. Giovanni Battista was a complex figure. A lively, well-versed intellectual, a man who "studied letters and law for a long time," as a contemporary of his once wrote, and who was close to many prominent figures of sixteenth-

century Italy.

Giovanni Battista Castrodardo was active as a translator of history books, as an editor of Dante's *Comedy*, as a historian of the bishops of his city, and as a translator and editor of a very succesful companion to Islam in Italian. Hence, Castrodardo was the author of the first printed translation in a European language of the Qur'an. His literary career spanned a five-year period, from 1543 to 1548, years that were truly pivotal to Italy's religious history. Those were also the years when Castrodardo, son of a notary and canon of Belluno Cathedral, left his city to travel to Padua, Rome, and Venice. However, in 1548, after the *Alcorano di Macometto* was published, he suddenly interrupted his publishing activity to return to his small city, thus choosing, with the exception of his erudite research concerning the bishops of Belluno, a life of silence that lasted some four decades (1548–88). My research seems to go against the will of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo—I hope he won't take offense. I have in fact tried to extract him from the shadows inside which Castrodardo hid himself for four whole decades, taking with him, in his silence, all the work he had done outside Belluno in that brief but very intense five-year period. To achieve my goal I have ventured down paths that had in part already been trodden, including one that would have led historian Natalie Zemon Davis straight to the attribution of the *Alcorano* had she not, at the very last moment, taken a wrong turn. Here I refer to the well-known 2006 essay by Zemon Davis on Leo Africanus, in which the attribution of the *Alcorano di Macometto* is incidentally mentioned.[5]

My book then, unveils the identity and the literary career of a man. And it therefore converses with the great number of literary studies that, over recent years for instance, under the aegis of projects such as the Italian Cinquecento plurale project, have reevaluated and redefined the work of the so-called polygraphs, editors and translators who were circulating among the Venetian publishers. This study shares their intentions—it understands their efforts from afar.

Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, a peer of several better-known, significant figures, traveled around the same cities, he entered the same workshops and houses, he crossed paths with people like Giuseppe Betussi, Girolamo Ruscelli, and Ludovico Domenichi. He influenced the genre of the *selve* with his translation of Leonico Tomeo (1544), but most importantly, he left his own personal mark, his hand, his style, in the *Alcorano di Macometto*: a complex and individual vision of the Muslim world, in conformity with the context and design of Arrivabene's editorial project, but in which his personality is visible to those who have the eyes and the desire to see it. This is what the three central chapters of this book focus on.[6]

However, before turning to Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, I examine his *Alcorano di Macometto* as a book and the context of its production. The first chapter, "The Misfortune of a Translation," clears the field of all the opinions, from the second half of the sixteenth century, that is, from Joseph Scaliger,

onward to which the *Alcorano di Macometto* was submitted because of the quality of the translation of the Qur'an. This must not be read as an apology but as a change in perspective, a shift in attention, a focus on the questions raised by the text. We must first of all put to one side the following question: could Arrivabene, or the translator of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, whoever it may have been, really have translated the Qur'an from the Arabic to the Italian? A more productive idea is to place this pocket-sized companion to Islam back into the context of its wide readership, of the Venetian publishing world, and of Andrea Arrivabene's catalog of books, and thus return the text, described and recontextualized, to the history of Arabic and Qur'anic studies in early modern Europe. All this is condensed in the chapters that follow.

The second chapter, "The Material Text," discusses the place of the book in Arrivabene's catalog of publications in Italian, and in particular as part of a coherent publication—albeit not as yet a fully fledged series—of history books in which the publisher had a clear commercial and intellectual interest. Within such a novel framework the *Alcorano di Macometto* seems to be the book on Islam, Islamic history, and the Ottoman Empire within a lively editorial line in Italian, which included ancient history, translations of fifteenth-century historiography, the history of the Italian wars, the history of the New World, and sixteenth-century historical theory as well. In this chapter I also describe the three states of the edition, providing new bibliological data, especially as concerns the paratext from which I have discovered a version that was hitherto unknown: that is, a quire of *cancellanda* sheets that appeared in an exemplar held in the Vatican Library.

The third chapter, "What Everybody Wishes for and Keeps Silent," also focuses on the paratext. It closely examines Andrea Arrivabene's dedicatory letter and Paolo Crivelli's sonnet to Gabriel Luetz Baron d'Aramon, French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1547–53). In this chapter I offer new outlines for the political and religious context previously traced by the Italian historian Carlo De Frede. The *Alcorano di Macometto* is a companion to Islam born within a diplomatic situation aimed at relaunching the military alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire. Hence, this book reflects French foreign policy, that is, the French anti-Habsburg position and sympathy for the Ottomans, as well as the hopes of the Florentine anti-Medicean exiles in Venice and of nonconformist religious circles linked to the French embassies in Venice and in Istanbul. In short, the *Alcorano* is not just a book of anti-Islamic polemic based on medieval sources, as it has been described thus far. Nor do I agree with those scholars who have underscored "the absence of heterodox propositions or substantial novelties concerning previous knowledge."[7]

Arrivabene's and Castrodardo's new companion to Islam is filled with historical, religious, political, and ethnographic information for a wide and diverse readership. A close reading of the text, however, reveals that its first and intended public consisted of the women and men of nonconformist religious sympathies who found the French Embassy in Istanbul to be a safe

political and religious refuge. As we shall see, dedicated to those readers who were close to Arrivabene's circles, including Sephardic Jews traveling from Venice to Istanbul, are covert political messages and innovative portraits of Muhammad and the Ottoman sultans and califs.

The fourth chapter, "He Translated the *Alcorano* into the Vulgar Tongue," attributes the work to and offers a first portrait of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo. This portrait goes beyond the sketch that he himself and, later, the historians of the city of Belluno provided after he chose to remain silent. That earlier sketch was of a local poet and a municipal historian, which does not at all correspond to the force and the complexity that were triggered by the brief intellectual life that Castrodardo then suppressed after 1548.

The attribution in the fourth chapter thus leads into the next group of three chapters, which, as I have already written, form the heart of the book. It is here that the text is closely analyzed, by focusing on three short and carefully chosen sections from the text, two from the introduction and the third from the translation of the Qur'an. The fifth chapter, "The Iberian and Italian *Miʿrāǧ* by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo," reconstructs Castrodardo's knowledge of Dante. Between 1544 and 1547 he worked on an edition of Dante's *Comedy* including his own *argomenti*, that is, his own short and introductory commentaries to be published before each canto. To my knowledge this work has never been published, but traces of it are evident in the *Alcorano di Macometto*, in particular in one section of the introduction.

In this section, Giovanni Battista chooses to reinsert the story of Muhammad's ascension to heaven, omitted in the Latin encyclopedia on Islam printed in Basel (1543). He does so by obliterating the medieval Latin sources and following the version of the *miʿrāǧ* available in the *Opera chiamata confusione della setta machumetana* (The Confutation of the Sect of Muhammad) attributed to the Iberian Morisco and convert Juan Andrés (1515), and translated into Italian by Domingo de Gaztelu in 1537. Dante's influence in this rewriting is striking. Muhammad's ascension to heaven, like the cleansing of the Prophet's heart, was rewritten according to Castrodardo's reading of Dante's *Comedy*. And today these rewritings produce, after a century of controversy concerning Dante's Islamic sources, a strange, bewildering effect, which almost convinces us to see an overturning of the sources, or at least an inevitable magnetism between Dante's and Muhammad's visions and journeys into heaven. More cautiously, this sixteenth-century Italian rewriting of the miʿrāǧ suggests the literary appropriation of new biographies of the Prophet Muhammad, distinct from the medieval Latin biographies. New texts that stem from early modern Iberia and the Muslim West, which are usually overlooked by studies on Italian Orientalism, focused on the eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire. A canon of Belluno, a mid-sixteenth-century Dante scholar, rewrote a work translated by the secretary of the Habsburg ambassador in Venice and written by, or attributed to, a canon of Granada and formerly a Muslim scholar in Islamic law.

Chapter 6, "The Religion of the Italians, or Purgatory and the Qur'an," continues in the direction of the previous chapter, but analyzes a passage in the translation of the Qur'an, that is, the Italian version, based on the Latin text by Robert of Ketton (1143), of the seventh sura of the Qur'an, known as *al-aʿrāf* (The Heights). Drawing on studies on the translation of the Qur'an in Europe and by way of a joint stylistic analysis of the text and the paratext, I illustrate here the textual manipulation and the refined rhetorical and layout strategies used by Castrodardo, according to Robert of Ketton's model, to demonstrate the presence of the belief in purgatory in between the lines of the Qu'ran. In doing so, I discuss the role of peripheral spaces and transitory conditions in the Muslim afterlife in the invention of the Roman Catholic purgatory. All this is done taking into consideration the European sixteenth-century debate on whether purgatory, or any other third space between hell and paradise, exists. Thus, the long history of the translation of the Qur'an in Europe seems to be truly parallel to that of the creation of the third place known as purgatory: at least from Cluny to Roberto Bellarmino.

The seventh chapter, titled "*Scribendae Historiae Gratia*," which completes the central part of the book, analyzes Castrodardo's historiographic and political culture. The chapter returns to the more hidden parts of the text, and finally turns to Alessandro D'Ancona's insights concerning Castrodardo's new biography of Muhammad published in the introduction of the book. Here the focus is the long "sixteenth-century oration" by means of which the Christian monk Sergius convinced the Prophet Muhammad to found a new religion. At first, I believed this oration was an original work by Castrodardo, but by following some clues concerning the collaboration between Andrea Arrivabene and the typographer Bernardino Bindoni, I later discovered its direct source. It is the oration by Sergius the Monk published in the *De origine urbis Venetiarum* (On the Origin of the City of Venice) by the Venetian historian Bernardo Giustinian (1492) and translated by Ludovico Domenichi (1545). This speech is rewritten here in a truly original manner and based on Castrodardo's readings—this time of Machiavelli. Locating the source of the speech made it easier to point out the differences, the political novelties, with respect to the fifteenth-century source.

Emerging from this oration, which is analyzed alongside the representation of Muhammad on the title page, is a mythicized and dehistoricized image of Muhammad and of the sultan Süleyman behind the figure of the Prophet of Islam, as an armed prophet and a Romanized lawgiver. It is a representation of Muhammad that scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies in early modern Europe usually attribute to French libertine Orientalism and to all that stemmed from it: from the Muhammad of the Enlightenment and George Sale to Edward Gibbon's Prophet of Islam who ruled his people "with the sword in one hand and the Qur'an in the other." Here Muhammad the lawgiver is instead reinserted in the process of the Caesarization of the Prophet already under way in the tradition of the medieval chronicles, as well as within

fifteenth-century Italian humanistic historiography and Machiavellian political theory. Giovanni Battista Castrodardo took part in this process. His Renaissance oration is a refined rhetorical exercise that veils pro-French and pro-Ottoman political and diplomatic messages. And it programmatically represents itself as a text based on the works of historians who wrote not so much "to confute that error," that is Islam, as to "write history."

The history of reading and the diffusion of the *Alcorano di Macometto* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are explored in the next three chapters. This is where I argue that the *Alcorano di Macometto* was not merely something to be read by a few erudite readers but that it was a text widely diffused and highly successful in Italy, elsewhere in Europe, and probably outside of Europe, as I suggest in Chapter 10, "The Fortune of the *Alcorano di Macometto* and a Conclusion." It was a text that was sought out, read, used, and rewritten in different contexts, by Catholic missionaries and European renegades, by exiles *religionis causa* and Englishmen on their Grand Tour in Italy, by Italian Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians as well as Castrodardo's own colleagues, the compilers of universal history and miscellanous works as the *selve*, by peasant readers, like the cheese maker Scolio and the miller Menocchio, and by Sephardic Jews and seventeenth-century Italian readers heedful of the *arcana imperii* (the secrets of ruling).

Chapter 8, "Reading and Rewriting the *Alcorano di Macometto*," focuses on the *Alcorano* as a literary work, as an anthology of tales and fables, and therefore on the "invisible wire" and the "hidden genealogies" that link this work to the publishing activity of the polygraph Francesco Sansovino. Here the different use of Castrodardo's text by Sansovino in two works he published in 1560 are analyzed, by delineating the new success of Castrodardo's book via both the *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de' Turchi* and Sansovino's additions to the *Selva di varia lettione* by the Spanish scholar Pedro Mexía. In these additions, medieval materials and legends on Islam and its Prophet, removed from the *Historia universale*, return with all their fictional power, and are combined with the new sources translated and reassembled by Castrodardo.[8]

Chapter 9, "A Cheese Maker from Lucca and a Miller from Friuli," further discusses Carlo Ginzburg's essay on Domenico Scandella in light of new research. Leaving aside the issue of Menocchio's cosmology, I put forward new hypotheses on his reading practices, and therefore on the knowledge of and familiarity with Islam among peasants in early modern Italy. The method again involves an analysis of the miller's testimony by way of an accurate understanding of the Qur'an and of the Islamic religion, as well as a comparison with Scolio's original poem entitled *Settennario*. I therefore discuss the idea, which is often followed acritically, that it was impossible for an Italian peasant of the sixteenth century to understand the Qur'an: a text that collects the histories of prophets and patriarchs, and does not seem to be so far removed from Menocchio's culture, or merely a strange page on which to

project his thoughts and fantasies. Analyzing the case of the episode of Abraham destroying the idols (chap. 10, par. 2) shows that there is a concrete foothold to demonstrate the reading of the Qur'an and therefore the anti-Catholic use of Islam and the Qur'an on the part of Ginzburg's microhero. The filter constituted by Menocchio's oral culture, and unconsciously interposed between himself and the texts, does not appear to me to be so distorting in the case of the episode of Abraham and the idols.

I also discuss, in light of the stylistic analysis carried out in the fifth chapter, the literary construction of Scolio's visions in the *Settennario*, the poem in ottava rima by the cheese maker from Lucca. Based on a philological and stylistic approach, I suggest that the two texts, the two written sources or decisive elements for the emergence of Menocchio's oral and peasant culture—that is, Dante's *Comedy* and the Qur'an that Ginzburg discussed separately—are already interwoven in Castrodardo's companion to Islam: they overlap and they are combined in a single tale that emerges forcefully in the fiction of Scolio's visions. In analyzing Scolio's poem, the novelty to be underscored is the reception of the new Iberian and Venetian mi'rāğ by the Dante scholar Castrodardo: it is a text that Scolio metabolized and made his own, and in which Dante's *Comedy* and the Islamic traditions about Muhammad's mi'rāğ already merge in a new formula and therefore cannot be dealt with only separately. Castrodardo rewrote Muhammad's journey into heaven according to Dante's mystical vocabulary and that is how it ended up in Scolio's hands. Scolio was a receptive reader, a new prophet, and a peasant poet, and the representative from Lucca of the success of the *kitāb al-mi'rāğ* in sixteenth-century Europe.

Dante, purgatory, Machiavelli. Sansovino, Scolio, Menocchio. I wanted to go beyond "the history of the representations" of Islam in Europe, but eventually I found myself piecing back together the religious and intellectual life of an unknown, but highly interesting figure from Belluno, reflected in his own representation of early Islam and the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The result of this is an essay that, revealing the voice of a forgotten sixteenth-century translator and following the diffusion of his major work, helps us to understand how Islam, its revelation, and its historiographical and literary traditions contributed to the development of European societes.

The Venetian Qur'an

CHAPTER 1

The Misfortune of a Translation

J. J. SCALIGER AND THE CHARCOAL

In the fall of 1576 the French humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1606) was desperately trying to locate a book. He was looking for the *Alcorano di Macometto*, printed in Venice in 1547 by the publisher and bookseller Andrea Arrivabene. Although Arrivabene claimed on the frontispiece of the sought-after book that the text of the Qur'an was translated from Arabic into Italian, the Qur'an had rather been translated from Latin. Most importantly, this book was neither just a translation of the Qur'an into the vernacular nor exclusively a work of anti-Islamic polemic. Dedicated to Gabriel de Luetz, Baron of Aramon, the fourth French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1547–1553), the *Alcorano di Macometto* was, rather, a new and handy companion to Islam and the Ottoman Empire, and the first printed translation of the Qur'an into a European vernacular language.[1]

Arrivabene printed the book in Italian and in quarto format. In doing so, he gave readers a more accessible version than the Latin encyclopedia of Islam that appeared in Basel in 1543. There, Johann Oporinus (1507–68) and Theodor Bibliander (1509–64), after a long battle against the Swiss authorities, published the twelfth-century *Corpus islamolatinum* in folio, including in it a selection of medieval and contemporary texts about and against Islam.[2]

Scaliger, however, was eager to read the new Italian translation of the Qur'an, published in the second half of Arrivabene's 1547 book. And to find it, he made use of his broad network across the Republic of Letters, contacting booksellers in Venice and northern Europe, and bothering his friends and correspondents with insistent requests. That fall, Scaliger was in Poitier, where he took shelter for the coldest months of the year, though he disdained the cultural isolation of the city and deemed its magistrates as being "enemies of all virtue." From Poitier, he wrote twice to the Parisian jurist and bibliophile Claude Dupuy (1545–94).[3] The first time, on September 25, he beseeched Dupuy to search for the *Alcorano* everywhere, whether in Paris or Venice, conveniently overlooking the fact that the Venetian lagoon was in the grips of the plague. He wanted to get his hands on that rarity, on that new and precious translation of the Qur'an based, from what he understood, on the Arabic text and published, he thought, around 1526–27. Before sealing his letter, Scaliger

also promised to diligently return the book after three months.

Some time later, on December 18, while he was correcting his edition of the Latin elegiac poets to be published by Mamert Patisson (d. 1600), Scaliger wrote to Dupuy again, this time with greater insistence. He no longer expressed shame or humility in imploring him to find the *Alcorano di Macometto*. To Scaliger, it was impossible that not a single copy was to be had in any of the Paris libraries. After all, Patisson himself had informed him of the presence of the book in Sens (Burgundy), not far from the capital. Scaliger also added that for a long time he had been thinking of nothing else, and that it was hard for him to even imagine receiving any book that he would appreciate more.[4]

Almost two months later, Scaliger received a copy of the book. But the text he had been so anxious to read proved to be a great disappointment. On February 12, writing once more to Dupuy he complained, "I have received the Qur'an in Italian, but it is no more than ἄνθρακεζ θησαυρόζ [*ánthrakes thesaurós*]. Indeed, it is not translated from the Arabic, but from the Latin, and literally so. And whoever it was that translated it from the Latin, when Saint Bernard was at the Council of Toledo, did not understand any more of it than I myself would be able to."[5]

Scaliger used a Greek motto to express his frustration: ἄνθρακεζ ὁ θησαυρόζ (*ánthrakes ó thesaurós*), which we might translate as "our treasure is all turned to coal" or, even better, "a treasure gone up in smoke." The Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata used this motto several times in his dialogues. He quoted it in the *Zeuxis* as well as in *Hermotimus or Concerning the Sects*: in this text the old Stoic philosopher Hermotimus, after his lengthy dialogue with Lycinus on the philosophical schools, was as disappointed as Scaliger was before a book he had been so anxious to read, but in which he did not find the treasure he had expected. Likewise, Scaliger was anticipating a treasure, but he found the book delivered as much satisfaction as would a few lumps of charcoal: that is to say, an abridged and inaccurate translation of the Qur'an, taken from the Latin version by Robert of Ketton (1143).[6]

But why was Scaliger so disappointed? And to what extent is his frustration of interest to us? To understand Scaliger's discontent we should recall that his interests were above all linguistic. He considered the Qur'an to be a primary source for the study of Arabic, and a new translation into Italian, into the language that had been his father's, and that was the most widespread after Latin across Europe and the Mediterranean, might certainly have come in handy. This approach harked back to a long European tradition, closely linked to biblical exegesis, which Scaliger had access to through the teachings of the French Orientalist Guillaume Postel (1510–81).

Recent scholarship has shown that the study of Arabic was part of higher humanistic education. The Italian scholar Angelo Michele Piemontese suggested that the *collegium pentalingue* (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean), instead of merely the *collegium trilingue* (Latin, Greek, Hebrew),

was the ideal language requirement in the formation of the perfect scholar—and the perfect library—during the Renaissance.[7]

The most prominent example of this tradition was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), a model for all of Europe. British-born Robert Wakefield (d. 1537), for example, in his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum arabicae chaldaicae et hebraicae* (Oration on the Praises and Benefits of the Three Languages, Arabic, Chaldean and Hebrew), published in London in 1524, suggested Saint Jerome as the example to be emulated in the linguistic pentad: "divus ille πεντάγλωττοζ Hyeronimus." But when Wakefield described the virtues of the diplomat and humanist Richard Pace (c. 1482–1536), he compared Pace to Giovanni Pico. According to Wakefield, Pace was "certainly not inferior to the prince Pico in the study of the five main languages." Pico personified the perfect humanist who mastered the five languages of antiquity and late antiquity: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean. During the sixteenth century the *collegium pentalingue* spread far beyond the boundaries of Renaissance linguistics. The perfect condottiere, the perfect physician, the perfect historian had to master the five languages. Martin Crusius (1526–1607), following Paolo Giovio, described Sultan Mehmet II as a multilingual military captain and patron: "he knew Arabic, Persian, Chaldean, Latin and Greek." In *The Secrets of Alexis of Piedmont*, Girolamo Ruscelli of Viterbo (d. 1566) presented himself, under the pseudonym of Alexis of Piedmont, as the ideal physician who mastered the five languages: "I have studied Letters in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic and in the languages of many other countries." In a Spanish book on the Ottoman Empire, published the same year as the *Alcorano di Macometto* (1547), the author, who mainly used Italian sources, feigned access to a historiographical corpus in five languages: "we gathered together many opinions about the fierce nation of the Turks, from Latin and Greek historians, as well as from the ones who wrote in Chaldean, Hebrew and Arabic."[8]

A book intended for wide circulation, a translation of a translation, could not possibly have satisfied the needs of a refined linguist such as Scaliger. Though similar in its use of the sources and subjects, the *Alcorano di Macometto* is distant from sixteenth-century erudite multilingualism both in inspiration and design. It had been conceived for a broad public, both Italian and European, and the author's intended readership included religious dissidents and political exiles, orthodox polemicists and diplomats traveling to the Ottoman Empire, as well as curious readers who simply wished to be entertained.

A part of this study, therefore, will challenge the research conducted by the Italian historian Carlo De Frede, and be concerned with recontextualizing the *Alcorano* in Arrivabene's catalog of history books, as well as within its commercial, religious, and political Venetian milieu.[9] That context was greatly influenced by the revolutionary ambitions of Venetian nonconformist circles, as well as by the ideas promoted by the Padua-based Academy of the

Infiammati, especially by those of Sperone Speroni (1500–1588) and Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–78). Mindful of the imperatives of the publishing industry, these scholars focused on the need for and cultural dignity of the Italian language and the need for the translation into the vernacular, by displaying a certain mind-set against the study of ancient and especially Oriental languages.

Piccolomini was an acquataince of Andrea Arrivebene. Though aware of the fact that relatively recently it had been considered important to learn ancient and Oriental languages "such as Greek, Chaldean, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and the like," in his treatise *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'homo* (On the Life-Long Education of a Man) (1542), Piccolomini now clearly discouraged the study of Arabic and Hebrew. This reflected concern that the loss in time would have been far greater than the gains from the additional effort. Furthermore, the major works written in those languages were already available in Latin. This idea was also upheld by Girolamo Ruscelli, who had been active in Arrivabene's enterprise for many years, and who staunchly defended the dignity of Italian. In dedicating a collection of letters to Tommaso de' Marini in June 1556, Ruscelli expressed the hope that "this beautiful language of ours" could be "extended to the entire world," and stressed the fact that "at present, there is hardly an author left, whether Greek, Arabic, or Latin, who is unknown to us, thanks to the diligence and honorable toils of many clever minds."[10]

Scaliger's frustration, and hence the sharp criticism by European Orientalists of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, was essentially the result of a clash between opposing cultural interests. On one side was the proto-Orientalist European erudition that went back, by way of the Medicean Rome of Giles of Viterbo and Leo Africanus, to Giovanni Pico and to his teacher of Oriental languages, Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavius Mithridates. On the other was the flourishing Venetian book market and the great diffusion of translations into the vernacular during the early 1540s.[11]

During those years, Sperone Speroni's advice in his *Dialogo delle lingue* (Dialogue of Languages) (1542) regarding the need to "translate every book of every science" really seemed to have been accomplished and perhaps surpassed. A legion of young printers, editors, translators, and polygraphs arrived in Venice. Those years registered a massive spread of nonconformist religious literature, of translations of the Bible, and of classical and humanistic historiography. Any book could have been translated and printed in Venice in the early 1540s, even the sacred book of Islam.

The *Alcorano di Macometto* is therefore a product that gathers together old medieval Latin translations from Arabic and new texts about Islam, which had reached Venice from both the western and eastern Muslim Mediterranean. But it is also a product that reflects the Italian political context prior to the Council of Trent. The first half of the 1540s were, in fact, still filled with great expectations of moral, political, and religious renewal and precisely 1547, the

year of the Battle of Mülberg and that the *Alcorano* was published, was a turning point that would mark the history of Qur'anic translations in Italy, as well as the lives of the many individuals who were involved in this edition.

To view this translation from a broader perspective, we ought to at least recall other experiences in translating religious texts within and across religious communities. Besides the Bible translations in Christian Europe, we should take into account the Spanish translations of the Ferrara Bible (1553) addressed to a public of Marranos, the Pentateuch of Constantinople translated in Ladino in 1547, and the process of translating the Qur'an and its commentaries that involved the Moriscos in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Ottoman diaspora, both before and after the Expulsion (1609). Iberian Muslims translated the Qur'an into Spanish vernaculars for Muslim readers who had lost or were forced to abandon the use of Arabic. Moriscos had to follow new strategies to legitimize their linguistic choice. If God's language, Arabic, was to be lost or abandoned the language of believers could be adopted instead. In this regard, the Moriscos' strategies resemble those adopted in non-Arabic-speaking Muslim territories like Persia. For instance, 'Īsā ibn Ǧābir alias Yça Gidelli justified his choices, as early as in 1462 in his *Breviario Sunni*, as follows: "people who know about Religion should teach using the language that other people could understand." Even more interesting is the tradition (*ḥadīth*), on which the copyist, and possibly the translator into Spanish, of the so-called Qur'an of Toledo (1606) founded his work: "the prophet Muhammad said that the best language is the one that people understand."[12]

At any rate, the Greek motto chosen by Scaliger effectively sums up the fading of his hopes, like those of many later European Orientalists in reading the *Alcorano di Macometto*. These hopes were stoked much like a fire by the publishing formula that Arrivabene included on the title page: "Newly translated from Arabic into the Italian tongue." The formula turned the *Alcorano di Macometto* into one of the most hotly debated editions, and least studied ones, in terms of its genesis and diffusion, among all sixteenth-century Venetian publications. Those few words, in fact, decontextualized from the contemporary publishing usage, have aroused and disappointed the curiosity of European proto-Orientalists and modern scholars of Oriental languages over the centuries, just as they have rejected, albeit with a few excellent exceptions, the efforts of the historians of early modern Europe, who mostly relegated Arrivabene's companion to the margins of their discipline.

Scaliger's few words were followed by the growth of an opinion that, when cyclically repeated among Orientalists, was transformed over the centuries into a condemnation, a critical oblivion that can be summed up as follows: the *Alcorano di Macometto* is nothing but an awkward translation of the Latin Qur'an by Robert of Ketton (1143) printed by Bibliander (1543). And, worse, by declaring that he had had the Qur'an translated from the Arabic, Arrivabene was nothing more than a cunning and ruthless entrepreneur, an astute publisher who preached falsehoods on his title pages.

Once it had been revealed that the Italian companion was dependent on the Latin encyclopedia edited by Bibliander, the *Alcorano* was then dismissed as mere plagiarism, over the centuries becoming no more than a bibliographic curiosity unworthy of in-depth analysis. Indeed, this critical censure was based on the very myth of the book's rarity, which, starting from the eighteenth century, leapt from one bibliographic repertoire to another ("editio perrara," "fort rare et recherchée," "libro assai raro," "veramente raro," "libro rarissimo," etc.). Thus, it led to the absence of the verification of its actual or, at least, likely diffusion through necessary bibliographical research of European and international breadth. Hence, the critical approach to the book was marked from the outset by two partial and rather shallow truths: its rarity and the poor quality of the Qur'anic translation.

JOHN SELDEN AND THE "ITALIAN IMPOSTOR"

After Scaliger's criticism of the *Alcorano*, the opinion held by European Orientalists did not change. Actually, the cloud of smoke surrounding the genesis and the nature of the book grew thicker and thicker. The Englishman John Selden (1584–1654) contributed a great deal to this. In addition to a manuscript by Robert of Ketton and an exemplar of Bibliander's encyclopedia, Selden owned, and quickly commented on, the *Alcorano di Macometto* as well. In 1631 and again in 1640, he called the Italian translator an impostor ("impostor" and "impostor Italus"), true to Scaligerian style.

Selden was familiar with Scaliger's letters, and he recalled a short missive written from Leiden to the Orientalist Étienne Hubert in March 1608. In a brief note, Scaliger described Robert of Ketton as an "audaculus": a foolish and fearless "bold one" for having garnished his Latin with eloquence to such an extent that "nobody could understand the Qur'an based on his translation." And, then, Scaliger added, with a hint of sarcasm, that the Italian translator, who followed the Latin text by Robert of Ketton, could not possibly have seen the Arabic. "Even if he had seen it, he could have not understood it"—he continued —"but he dared to declare that he had translated it from the original."[13]

It should come as no surpise that European erudites used a companion to Islam in vernacular printed for a broad public. Before the release of the French translation of the Qur'an in 1647 by the French diplomat André du Ryer (d. 1672)—also small in format and in a national European language, but taken directly from the Arabic—the *Alcorano di Macometto* was the book bearing the most accessible translation of the Qur'an into a European vernacular. During the early seventeenth century, the *Alcorano* was the basis for the German translation of the Qur'an by the Lutheran preacher Salomon Schweigger (1616), from which was taken an anonymous translation into Dutch (1641). The Italian text of the Qur'an was translated into Hebrew, possibly in Venice, and also into Spanish among Amsterdam's Sephardim. But most importantly, until

1647, the *Alcorano di Macometto* was the printed text of reference for the Italian and Italian-speaking, European, and Mediterranean public, which was often unskilled in Latin. For example, the Dutch theologian and polemicist Johann Hoornbeek (1617–66) consulted the Italian translation "where the Latin is more obscure and difficult."[14]

I will discuss here the diffusion of the *Alcorano di Macometto* in Italy, elsewhere in Europe, and across the Mediterranean, over the course of the century that ran from its publication to André du Ryer's translation. A long century that, in the words of Fernand Braudel, coincides with "the height of the spread of Italian civilization" outside Italy, stemmed by the advent of Louis XIV's *Grand Siècle*, and by the gradual affirmation of new European powers, such as England and Holland, in the eastern Mediterranean.[15]

It should thus be of interest to consider the spread of the Italian Renaissance in Europe from the unusual point of view of the success of Italian Orientalism, and in particular of Qur'anic translation, outside Italy. After 1647, Du Ryer's translation actually replaced the *Alcorano di Macometto* among European readers. From the second half of the seventeenth century and for more than a century, the French Qur'an, and the English translation taken from it, was the most widespread translation in all of Europe and in North America. The French text by Du Ryer was even translated into Italian. Two short and fragmentary manuscripts, which were never really brought out into the open until now, confirm the diffusion of the French Qur'an by Du Ryer across Italy: the first translation was made in Tuscany in the second half of the seventeenth century, while the second dates from the eighteenth century, and is the work of a physician and bibliophile from Rimini named Giovanni Bianchi (1693–1775).[16]

Although these are subtle signs, they were still indicative of an era that had by then definitively changed. Publishing ventures such as Alessandro Paganini's Arabic Qur'an (1537–1538) and Arrivabene's *Alcorano di Macometto* in Italian, whether or not they succeeded, in the Italy that had emerged from the Council of Trent and the *Tridentine Index* (1564), which condemned the Basel edition and its translations in the vernacular, would no longer be possible. Proof of this are polemical products such as the *Alcorano riprovato* by the Dominican Angelo Pientini (1603), and the Islamic section of works of prescriptive bibliography such as the *Bibliotheca selecta* by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1593).

Italians had to wait three centuries before a second translation of the Qur'an into Italian became available (1846–47), but Oriental and Qur'anic studies in Italy had not come to a halt: in actual fact, quite the opposite was true. The study of Oriental languages had been promoted for diplomatic and missionary purposes from the Council of Vienne (1312) and came back to life around the time of the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–42) and likewise in erudite and courtly Italian circles before the sack of Rome (1527). After the foundation of the College of the Maronites (1584), of the Medici Oriental Press

(active from 1584 to 1614), and later of Propaganda Fide (1622), the study of Oriental languages in Italy, and especially in Rome, was profoundly renewed and strengthened. The needs of missionary politics and papal diplomacy led to the great advancement of Orientalist knowledge and of publishing in Oriental languages and in non-Latin scripts. Rome became a Holy Babel, "a common refuge for all the nations of the world," as the playwright Virgilio Verucci described it. Rome was the center for the linguistic and ideological training of Catholic missionaries, and the gatherer of an erudite Orientalism appreciated in all Europe. This led to other effects, lesser known, but to be taken into consideration: the Italian language of Rome, or the so-called Tuscan language in the mouth of Romans, a prestigious code for European travelers in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, found new conduits for diffusion through the grammars and dictionaries compiled by and for the Catholic missionaries of Roman training and on a mission to the East.[17]

If we look at Italy after the Council of Trent, it is clear that a highly ambiguous situation had arisen. Rome was the avant-garde in Oriental studies, in the collection of manuscripts, and in publishing in non-Latin scripts, as well as in the spread of Italian both within and beyond Italy. But at the same time, by staking its monopoly over the translation and study of the Qur'an, it caused a great delay in the diffusion of the Qur'an in Italian. A clear sign of the role of Catholic censorship in the history of the translation of the Qur'an is that of the problems faced by Ludovico Marracci himself for the publication of his translation and refutation of the Qur'an in Latin. As the seventeenth century was coming to a close, in the wake of the Latin Qur'ans of Ignazio Lomellini (1561–1645) and Dominicus Germanus from Slesia (1588–1670), and as a precipitate of the long century of Propaganda Fide, Roman Catholic Orientalism provided one of the most complete products of European Qur'anic studies of the ancient regime, based on forty years of philological and exegetical work: the two in folio Arabic-Latin volumes of the *Alcorani textus universus* and of the *Refutatio Alcorani* (1698) by Marracci, of the Clerics Regular of the Mother of God (1612–1700).[18]

This was a monumental printed book, dedicated to Emperor Leopold I of Austria (1640–1705), victor in the Great Turkish War (1683–99). Its publication, however, as mentioned earlier, was no easy task. It took an entire decade for it to come to light: the text was in fact ready from August 1684, according to what Marracci wrote to the Florentine librarian Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714). Directly after the siege of Vienna (1683), which "seemed to have caused a raining down of poets," Marracci began dealing with the first difficulties. The master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace had put up some resistance, "estimating erroneously and much too simply" that "printing the Qur'an and its confutations were one and the same thing," and would not "authorize printing," suggesting that one directly address the cardinals of the Holy Office. They, in turn, expressed cautious and above all divergent opinions: "there are those who say the Qur'an needn't be criticized since it is filled with

foolishness that is self-evident. There are those who say my work would not be of use to either Turks or Christians. There are those who say it could rather harm ordinary people, and others who say it could be harmful if it were to be found by someone in Turkey." The Holy Office turned the decision over to the pope himself, who, all the same—Marracci feared—"will likely deny permission, having a strong tendency to deny them." In short, in 1684 it was best to be patient or, rather, as Marracci wrote, "to dissimulate, and see whether I can achieve my goal by acting calm." After all, Marracci was shocked by "seeing figures of this caliber cause trouble before something so clear that it might even be judged by a child," so much so that the printing of the work as the years passed was beginning to require a titanic feat, with "the same destiny as conquering Budapest." It took the intercession of a saint for Marracci's work to be published. In 1689 Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo (1625–97), canonized in 1960, offered to publish it in Padua, and in 1698 it finally saw the light of day. However, the edition did not fully satisfy its author who, though almost ninety years old by that time, continued to write letters to Magliabechi to bring him up to date, his handwriting tired and trembling. Unfortunately, his "poor work against the Qur'an was greatly enhanced by the obtuse ignorance of the compositors of Padua." But he still hoped that his flawed creature, made ugly by all the typographical errors, would be welcomed by European erudites: "finally this abortion of mine is not so ugly that it could [not] be recognized as a human being." At last, after years of labor and much censorship, seventeenth-century Catholic Orientalism gave Europe its best product. But, once again, this new translation framed Qur'anic studies within the institutional anti-Islamic controversy, thus bringing the divulgation of the Qur'an in Italian to a halt. Marracci himself, the owner and annotator in Arabic and Latin of one copy of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, indicated that Latin, insofar as it was a dead language, was more suited to the literal translation of a sacred text than Italian, Spanish, or French: living languages, that were commonly used, would have made the readers laugh.[19]

After the *Alcorano di Macometto*, three hundred years would pass before a new Italian translation was printed, once again based on an intermediary language and not on the original Arabic. The translation of the Qur'an by Filippo de' Bardi, included in his *Storia della Letteratura Araba*, appeared in 1846, while the translation of the Qur'an by the general papal consul in Algeria, Vincenzo Calza, based on the French version by Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski (1832), was published in 1847. The latter is a translation that was conceived within the frame of French colonialism, published during the year of the defeat of ʿAbd el Qāder (1808–83), printed by Cesare Fabiani (1804–57) in Bastia (Corsica). Hence, it was published in French territory, and just before the election of Louis Napoléon in Ajaccio (1848). Thirty-five years later an anonymous translation was printed in Milan by Giovanni Panzeri in 1882. This too was a translation of a translation. It was based on the 1783 French version by Claude Étienne Savary (1750–88). This was further proof of Italy's delay,

and now that of the newly unified Italy, in providing a version of the Qur'an based on the original text. In 1888 the Roman prince and Orientalist Leone Caetani (1869–1935) left an interesting marginal note in his copy of Panzeri's edition of the Qur'an in Italian, now in the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome. He wrote in pencil: "Disgraceful translation after some other foreign translation, in which the meaning of the Arabic text is well hidden; one might even call this translation a second Qur'an that has nothing to do with the real one by Muhammad." Although Arabic and Islamic studies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were legitimately in search of a modern scientific translation, Caetani's comment reminds us of Scaliger's use of the Greek motto against the *Alcorano di Macometto* and the scathing dressing down Arrivabene was subjected to over the centuries: Orientalists were seeking a good and reliable translation from the original.[20]

In any event, the first unabridged Italian translation of the Qur'an appeared only within the frame of Italian colonialism. In *Il demonio mussulmano* (The Muslim Devil) (1912) Giovanni Papini wrote that "among the various patriotic exercises the war forces us to carry out, we should not overlook the reading of the Qur'an." Papini believed this was necessary "for historians, for the anatomists of the human heart, and for men of action who have to deal with Islam, for in the writings of Muhammad there is not just the faith of the Arabs, but the very foundation of their civil and penal law. Reading the Qur'an is particularly necessary for all Italians, right now, and will be even more so in the years to come when, the new dominions having been pacified, we will have to live alongside our decimated subjects and understand their needs, remember their traditions, and try to understand, as far as we are able, a spirit that is so different from our own. This is also necessary right now, for the war as well." Papini went on to say that there was a great difference "between having to fight an army of atheists and an army of fanatics, and if our generals had been familiar with Muslim superstitions beforehand, they could have used torture more than bullets." Interestingly, at this point Papini mentions the "poor" old translation printed by Arrivabene in 1547: "So the Qur'an must be read, but in what language? For Italians, who do not know literary Arabic—vernacular Arabic, spoken in North Africa, isn't enough—the search for a good version is a rather uphill task. Among the firsts that both honor and burden us, we are also responsible for having produced the first translation of the sacred book of Islam in a modern language. The publisher was Andrea Arrivabene and it was printed in 1547, in Venice. It is a poor translation, however, a calque of the Latin one by Roberto Retenense [i.e., Robert of Ketton]. Then, for centuries, nothing further."[21] Thus, the Qur'an was eventually translated from the Arabic into the Italian in 1914. The Italo-Turkish War and the "glorious conquest of Libya" required a knowledge of Arabic, as stated by the translator Aquilio Fracassi in his dedicatory letter to Luigi Credaro (1860–1939), minister of education in Giovanni Giolitti's fourth government (1911–14). Fracassi also invited Credaro to persuade the Arabs of Libya "with this Qur'an in hand that

Italy clearly stands out among other countries, which, though they boast about being civil, make a sad spectacle of themselves, that Italy, as it was in the past and is, will forever be the brightest light of true civilization." Where that blinding light led Libya and Italy in the following decades is not the subject of this book. Here I analyze the conflicts and the overlaps between erudite Arabic studies and popular Orientalism, as well as the relations between these and popular historiography and Italian literature of the sixteenth century. So it is best we return to Marracci and begin to discuss the critical fortune or rather misfortune of Arrivabene's Qur'an across the European Republic of Letters.[22]

THE ALCORANO GOES TO COLLEGE

At the beginning of eighteenth century, because of Marracci's translation and Abraham Hinckelmann's edition of the original Arabic text (1694), a new interest developed over the history of the translation of the Qur'an in Europe. This new discussion resulted in a cluster of academic dissertations, promoted by the German theologian Johann Michael Lang (1664–1731), and defended by his students. The dissertations once again also focused on the *Alcorano di Macometto*, upon which Selden's and Scaliger's authoritative critiques weighed like two millstones. As early as 1701, in a dissertation defended in Rostoch by Joachim Mantzel and presided over by Zacharia Grapius, Mantzel quickly returned to Selden's scathing criticism, also attributing the translation without doubt to Andrea Arrivabene.[23]

Soon afterwards in 1703, Michael Conrad Ludwig in Altdorf near Nuremberg focused his dissertation on the Qur'an printed in Arabic by Alessandro Paganini. Ludwig astutely outlined the diplomatic and official context in which the Italian version of the Qur'an was printed. Ludwig did not neglect to mention that Arrivabene dedicated the book to Gabriel Luetz, Baron of Aramon, signing a very long letter and adding numerous paratextual materials. Ludwig also stressed the publisher's decision to print a companion to Islam for the general readership, which "could have been useful for lots of different people."[24]

The dissertations promoted by Lang continued, and in 1704 it was Johann Conrad Lobherz's turn to discuss the *Alcorano di Macometto*. By then, the book had become increasingly rare, though an exemplar—Lobhertz admitted—could still be found: indeed, an exemplar had been located courtesy of the preacher Andreas Harder of Augusta. That the *Alcorano* was based on the Latin text, instead of the Arabic, was again pointed out. But unlike Selden and Scaliger, Lobhertz made a distinction between the role of the publisher and that of the translator. According to Lobhertz, Arrivabene had constantly lied about the Latin source. The translator, on the contrary, told the truth, earnestly declaring that he had seen the Latin text. After a cursory review of the text, Lobhertz judged the quality of the translation negatively. He did not consider the Italian version a work of great value ("pretii non adeo magni") and if the

first book, which does not deal with the Qur'anic text, had been assembled much too freely, the Qur'anic translation, collected in the second and third books, was so reduced and reassembled that it appeared to be none other than a rather useless and futile abridgment of the Qur'an. But why, then, did Arrivabene insist more than once on the original Arabic, Lobhertz asked himself. It may have been the fault of the translator, who, having come across an Arabic summary of the Qur'an and using the Latin translation and historical treatises connected to it, after "cutting, interpolating, moving and reassembling excerpts of the text" gave the publisher "a brand new abridgment of the Qur'an." A new cento, a new anthology, or a new *compendium*, as Hartmut Bobzin would point out in 1995.[25]

A few decades after Lobhertz, the English translator of the Qur'an, George Sale (1697–1736), did not shy away from voicing his own opinion: the Italian version, again attributed to Arrivabene, was even worse than the *antiquissima latina* one published in Basel. In his introductory words, Sale devoted just a few, very clear lines to the *Alcorano di Macometto*: "From this Latin version was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithstanding the pretenses in his dedication of its being done immediately from the Arabic; wherefore it is no wonder if the transcript be yet more faulty and absurd than the copy." What had previously been described as a fake had now become "faulty and absurd." But after all, with or without Arrivabene, Sale's strategy was very clear. Just as Marracci railed against Robert of Ketton, and Claude Étienne Savary (1783) against André du Ryer (1647), Sale's polemical target was Marracci. The British Orientalist translated against him: he wanted to overcome Marracci's translation, a text that, as has already been demonstrated, he used exhaustively. Sale's goal was to produce a modern translation, one that was philologically correct but in English and small in format. In a society of European readers that was constantly changing, he wanted to replace not just the previous translations in vernacular but also the Latin, bookish, monumental, and excessively literal translation by Marracci, since "being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue."[26]

The years went by, and the opinions of European Orientalists infiltrated the new bibliographic repertories. In 1750 David Clement, in his *Bibliothèque curieuse*, insisted that Arrivabene was an impostor and a liar, one who "se vante à la verité d'avoir fait cette traduction sur l'original arabe," but fortunately "les meilleurs auteurs découvrent son imposture." He added that "cette version d'une mauvaise traduction est absoulement méprisable." Some of the contemporary bibliographic repertories, however, especially those compiled by non-Catholics (Vogt, Schelhorn), continuing to attribute the work to Arrivabene, insisted on the rarity of the book and, polemically, on its evident cause: the prohibition and destruction of Qur'anic translations by Catholic authorities. For his part, Friedrich Gotthilf Freytag returned to the distinction between the publisher and the translator. He wanted to exonerate the poor "Venetian bookseller" from the usual charges. According to him, after

having commissioned the translation, Arrivabene had been deceived by an unknown and dishonest translator on the nature of his sources. Nonetheless, as we shall see, the translator of this work did not act in the manner of the giant Malacarne, one of the characters in the *Ragionamento della stampa* (The Reasoning on the Printing Press) by Anton Francesco Doni (1552). In other words, he was not among those who, "with no knowledge or understanding of languages, have devoted themselves to sullying papers, just to be able to say I know the Hebrew language and the Moorish one." On the contrary, analyzing some of the printed marginal notes written by the translator himself, we can understand his linguistic choices, and his explicit and manifest indifference to learning Arabic.[27]

FORGERY AND FRAUD

In 1805, the erudite Piedmontese Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi attempted to liberate Arrivabene from the charges of the Orientalists, advancing the hypothesis that the Italian translator may have seen the Arabic Qur'an by Paganini (1538). His argument hung by a thread, however, based on the division of both works into three books. As we shall see, the translator of the *Alcorano* saw manuscript copies of the medieval *Corpus islamolatinum* along with the Basel printing but, neither knowing nor being interested in learning Arabic, there was little for him to gain from seeing the printed Arabic Qur'an.[28]

Nonetheless, Orientalists still focused on the formula used on the title page and on Arrivabene's misrepresentations: the widespread opinion remained substantially unchanged. The truth of the matter is that it became deeply rooted, was repeated in the nineteenth-century repertoires, and has remained virtually unaltered until our own day. Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer (1742–1822) echoed the disappointment that Scaliger had been one of the first to express by indicating in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* (1811) that the *Alcorano* of the "bookseller" Arrivabene was a "fucus," a fully-fledged "deceit," and a "fraus," that is to say "a fraud."[29]

Shortly afterward, the French Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) wrote a few pages about the *Alcorano di Macometto* in 1813, giving us what is perhaps the most exhaustive study of the *Alcorano* to date, at least as concerns its textual analysis. De Sacy did not just recall the opinion of the "célèbre Selden" and the short letter by Scaliger. Rather, he gave the first philological reading of the Italian translation, pointing out that the Italian translator followed the Latin version in the division of books and chapters, and translated even its marginal notes. Most importantly, de Sacy focused on a few examples in order to demonstrate, in line with the opinions expressed by both Selden and Scaliger, the total dependence of the Italian on the Latin text, and in particular on the text printed in Basel. The *Alcorano*, then, was not even a translation but, rather, a "free and very inaccurate abridgment" of the text

edited by Bibliander in 1543. Thus, de Sacy's opinion on the quality of the translation of the Qur'an published in the *Alcorano* followed Selden's and echoed Scaliger's Greek motto. Above all, owing to de Sacy's authoritativeness, his opinion would carry considerable weight into the present, much like a stone set before a sepulcher, never again opened by a truly exhaustive philological reading of the text and a historical analysis of the context of its publication.[30]

The weight of these *auctoritates* is perfectly summed up in a brief note by the Sicilian scholar Vincenzo Mortillaro (1806–88). That the *Alcorano di Macometto* was based on the Latin text "was observed by the well-known Selden," "it was stated by the great Joseph Scaliger," and "it was unambiguously demonstrated by the illustrious Baron Silvestre de Sacy." Nothing further needed to be proven, nor, above all, was it necessary to pose further questions; and so the opinion was handed on to the historians: according to Cesare Cantù (1804–95) the Italian translation of the Qur'an was, to put it simply, "dull."[31]

ALDOBRANDINO MALVEZZI AND HIS FOLLOWERS

The effects of this tradition were very clear throughout the twentieth century: modern scholars, in fact, continued to follow de Sacy, Selden, and Scaliger. In 1929 in Italy, Carlo Alfonso Nallino described the *Alcorano* as "a free translation of the Latin version riddled with mistakes," while in 1939 Giorgio Levi della Vida called it "a plagiarism of Theodore Bibliander's Latin translation." In 1947 in France, four hundred years after Arrivabene's edition, the translator of the Qur'an into the French language Régis Blachère, whose text Alessandro Bausani consulted many times for his own translation, spoke of the "very loose paraphrasis of the last suras"; and a year later, Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny included Andrea Arrivabene among the translators who were "dishonest," that is to say, who used Ketton's Latin version "pretending to have translated from the Arabic." In the 1950s Aldobrandino Malvezzi laid it on even thicker. The *Alcorano di Macometto* was little more than an "abridgement of an abridgment," just a "summary," filled with clichés and "brimming over with glaring mistakes." It "made absolutely no contribution to the knowledge of Islam, and actually confirmed the false information that was already in circulation." Uprooted from its historical and editorial context, the *Alcorano* was relegated to a list of rare books and early modern curiosities. To Malvezzi the *Alcorano* was just an insignificant object of the past, a bizarre and peculiar oddity, of value only to collectors.[32] Malvezzi's opinion of the work remained unchallenged at the turn of the twenty-first century. On more than one occasion it was expressed by Paolo Branca and, hence, in the more recent work by the historian Marina Formica (2012). This "rare book" thus became a "find for bibliophiles" which "presents Islam—in the manner of the by now superseded medieval 'confutations'—as a sort of heresy." An abridgment "valid at best as a witness to an approach to the sacred book of Islam that is

fortunately destined to disappear." It has now become evident that Paolo Branca's opinion is founded on a very long tradition dating back to 1576, and on Scaliger's uneventful stay in Poitier. Such opinion could lead us to think that this book does not deserve further investigation, while instead, and quite the contrary, it has all the features of a question that remains rather open and unresolved.[33]

The *Alcorano di Macometto* is still a very interesting case study. Though it made use of medieval materials, it was not, or at least not only, a polemical work against Islam. It made new sources available to a large readership: from the western Muslim Mediterranean the work of Juan Andrés, and the Turkish prophecies collected by Bartolomej Georgijevič in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, this new and divulgative companion to Islam conveyed political-diplomatic messages, renewed biographical narratives, and presented innovative visions of Islam, combined with or hidden in the midst of old and aggressive polemical texts.

In other words, the work is anything but mute. When contextualized and analyzed as a product, and not just as an editorial find, it becomes a talking book. It tells us a great deal about a particular political and diplomatic side of Venetian, Italian and European society. And above all, it reveals the identity and the brief and ambitious career, as well as the rapid eclipse, of its author: the canon Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno (c. 1517–c. 1588), a translator of historical books and commentator on Dante's *Comedy*, who has remained virtually unknown until now. Although today this author might appear to be a small-time figure from the Venetian hinterland, relative to such contemporaries as Giuseppe Betussi or Ludovico Domenichi, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo actually brushed up against and in some cases interacted with important people such as Gasparo Contarini, Girolamo Aleandro, Giulio Maresio, Giovanni Battista II di Collalto, Michele Tramezino, and Andrea Arrivabene. Castrodardo is someone who practically remained silent for forty years (1548–88), after a very short literary career that was abruptly halted precisely after, and probably because of, work on the *Alcorano di Macometto* (1547). But through that major work, he reached European intellectuals of the stature of Joseph Justus Scaliger, Guillaume Postel, Giacomo Castelvetro, John Selden, Alessandro Tassoni, Leon Modena, Antoine de Laval, and Montesquieu.

From the outset, I knew I needed to approach the book differently in my research and that contemporary studies on translation history could help me. I was not interested in the quality or the reliability of the Italian translation of the Qur'an. I was instead curious to know more about the actual translator of the book, about how and to what extent his political, religious, and literary culture may have influenced the genesis of the text. I wondered who the *Alcorano* was produced for, and how and for how long it was read. In short, I was interested in its textual and editorial genesis, to what extent and how widespread its fortune was, whether the book provided readers with an

enhanced or dimished knowledge of Islam, and what the effects were of its diffusion of the Islamic Revelation.

At the same time it was of crucial importance to follow the example of historians of the book. Further analysis of the rich paratext and in particular the dedication to the French ambassador Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon, as already suggested by the Italian historian Massimo Firpo, would be crucial. But most important of all was to bring the book back from the sidelines to which it had been relegated by European Oriental studies because of the poor quality of its translation of the Qur'an and the notorious formula of the title page ("newly translated from Arabic into the Italian tongue"). Such a commercial formula was actually rather commonplace in sixteenth-century publishing. It was routinely used, for instance, in anthologies of classical speeches, and in the translations of the Bible and the Gospels, in which Latin's mediation between the vernacular and the Greek, or between the vernacular and the Hebrew scripture, present in the majority of cases, is not revealed on the title page.

This was the case, for example, for the *Sermoni devotissimi del beato Efrem* (Devoted Sermons of the Blessed Ephrem) published by Arrivabene himself in 1545. The formula of the title page says "A new translation from the Greek to the vernacular for the comfort of devout and religious Christians," but the text was actually translated from the Latin version by Ambrogio Traversari, as stated in the dedicatory letter. This formula, furthermore, which had so disappointed the European Orientalists, had a subtle effect on book buyers in Venice. Using the original Arabic as proof of the book's authenticity and as something new in the book market meant operating on more than one level. This formula was also used on the title pages of original works hidden behind alleged translations. Such was the case, for example, of the *Commentario delle più notabili e mostruose cose d'Italia* (Commentary on the Most Notable and Monstrous Things in Italy) by Ortensio Lando, "translated from the Aramaic from the Italian," also published by Andrea Arrivabene. Moreover, owing to the exotic sound of the words "from Arabic," the *Alcorano* was related to the erudite forgeries based on Oriental or pseudo-Oriental languages, as well as to the popular market of the *avvisi* (newsletters) and prophecies that sought authenticity and awesomeness in the distance in space (the use of an exotic language) or in time (antiquity as proof).[34]

Hence, we cannot analyze a translation from the middle of the sixeenth century only through the legitimate needs of European Oriental studies, which has been the practice since the work of the historian Carlo De Frede. At the same time, we cannot understand this book by analyzing it as an imposture, as an act of plagiarism, or as a literary fraud. It would be anachronistic to base our investigation on a postromantic conception of authorship and translation that were already challenged in the second half of the twentienth century and that have nothing to do with the one diffused in the hectic world of the Venetian book market and literary circles during the early modern era.[35] Conversely, we should recontextualize the *Alcorano di Macometto* within

Arrivabene's short catalogue of historical books and therefore within its cultural and literary context. The European capital of publishing and translation, 1540s Venice was a politically and religiously vibrant society, with a market for books in the vernacular that was in full swing. Such activity created a textual magma that was in constant motion, and that was solidified in a quantity of products in which originality and respect for the sources were not familiar concepts. This was especially so in textual products such as the translations and anthologies of history books, pocket encyclopedias, the literary *selve*, and the miscellanies of fables and wonders.

To offer plausible answers to the many questions I have posed, I have used different methods and disciplinary approaches in the analysis of the *Alcorano*. My main tools were the history of the Italian language, the history of reading, and the history of the Italian Reformation, without, however, overlooking the history of Arabic and Qur'anic studies in Europe, which for more than a decade had been experiencing great— some called it frenetic— revival.[36]

In short, the aim of my research is to cast aside the thick clouds of smoke caused by Scaliger's disappointment, in order to understand whether, for whom, how, and for how long the *Alcorano di Macometto* was, or was not at all, a treasure of Italy and early modern Europe.

CHAPTER 2

The Material Text

Three States, One Edition, a History Book

A SHORT NOTE ON ANDREA ARRIVABENE

In the *Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del Mondo* (The Universal Town-Square of All the Professions in the World) (1585), the Lateran canon Tommaso Garzoni (1549–89) begins his narrative on writers of books by stating that "so great is the desire of men to create and compose books that it is never ending." Garzoni lists the virtues writers should have, but also their common vices. One of the worst vices is the choice of unpleasant topics. According to Garzoni, the subjects of books could in fact be "at times excessively satirical, as in the case of Nicolò Franco together with his master, and the inventor of the *Sferza de' scrittori*; at times excessively irreverent, as in the case of the works by the heretics published against the Holy Church; at times excessively profane, as in the case of the *Alcorano di Macometto*; and at other times excessively false, as in the case of the book *Delle vanità delle scienze* by Cornelius Agrippa."[1] The publisher Andrea Arrivabene was implicated in at least three of the works mentioned. In 1550 he published *La sferza de' scrittori* (The Whip of the Writers) by Ortensio Lando, and in 1547 the *Alcorano di Macometto*. At the end of August 1547 the Venetian Senate granted him a ten-year license to print *Della vanità delle scienze* (The Vanity of Arts and Sciences) by Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–c.1535), translated by Ludovico Domenichi (1515–64). Before I analyze the "excessively profane" subject matter of the *Alcorano di Macometto* and the literary career of its translator and author, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo of Belluno, it may be of use to describe the edition and understand its place in Andrea Arrivabene's catalog of vernacular books. Setting aside the history of European Qur'an studies, let us instead look at the catalog of vernacular books by the publisher and bookseller Andrea Arrivabene "al segno del Pozzo."[2]

Andrea was the son of the Mantua publisher Giorgio Arrivabene (active from 1483 to 1520), and most likely the brother of Cesare (active from 1517 to 1528). He had been working for the family business from 1515 at least. That was the year he curated, together with his brother Francesco Antonio, an edition of the medieval medical anthology *Fasciculus Medicinae*, which was

circulating under the name of Johannes de Ketham (c. 1415–70). This book was again published by Cesare in a Latin and Italian version in the early 1520s. In 1518 Andrea wrote a sonnet and a letter to the "most esteemed reader" of the *Regola grammaticale della volgar lingua*, a grammar of Italian by Giovanni Francesco Fortunio (1470–1517), published by "Cesaro Arrivabeno venetiano." Andrea described the grammar as "very useful" and "to be read frequently and committed to memory." He said it was "a small work" containing "an archipelago of science." This early interest in the Italian vernacular, under Cesare's aegis, was to guide Andrea throughout his publishing career. Later, in 1550, Andrea reminded his readers that he had always, and for as much as he was able, "had the opportunity to assist scholars, and in particular all those who enjoy our language."[3]

Whereas Cesare began to publish Italian literature and translations in his company's catalog (Saint Catherine, Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*, Folengo, Savonarola, Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*, the vulgarization of the *Celestina*), Andrea ultimately transformed the family business, managing to thrive on the Venetian market for thirty-five years (approx. 1534–69). Indeed, in the 1540s and 1550s, Andrea was committed to several directions. He was interested in music, law, science, and medicine, publishing the Latin translations of Arabic texts. He followed Cesare's interests in Girolamo Savonarola's works with the publication of Savonarola's *Prediche* (Sermons) and the *Oracolo della renovatione della Chiesa* (Oracle for the Renovation of the Church) edited by the Savonarolian Luca Bettini (1543). He also published a translation of Luther under the pseudonym Cardinal Federico Fregoso (1545), a work for which he was granted authorization for ten years of printing in 1545. Pier Paolo Vergerio recalled this translation in his commentary to Della Casa's 1549 *Catalog of Books* as a book that "can be bought and sold from whomsoever one wishes, without suffering or respect and, even more so, it is even praised by the adversaries of the Gospel themselves, who are convinced they are praising the work of a young Cardinal, not that of Luther."[4] Importantly, Andrea devoted his time to launching young, promising authors, translators, and copy editors like Ludovico Domenichi, Giuseppe Betussi, Ortensio Lando, Orazio Brunetto, Girolamo Ruscelli, and Lucio Paolo Rosello, varyingly involved in Italian Evangelism, and connected to the French throne and to Duchess of Ferrara Renée of France. All of them found Venice the ideal stage for their literary aspirations and desire for political-religious renewal, and Arrivabene's shop the perfect place from which to launch their careers.[5]

For example, Andrea Arrivabene and Ortensio Lando were very close in the early 1550s. They were even closer during the years Lando worked under the protective wing of Lucrezia Gonzaga (1548–52). Arrivabene published several editions of Lando's *Paradossi* (Paradoxes) (1544–63), *La Sferza de' scrittori* (1550), the *Commentario* (1550), *La vita di Ermodoro* (The Life of Hermodorus) (1550), the *Consolatorie de' diversi autori* (The Consolatory Letters of Different Authors) (1550) dedicated to Galeotto II Pico della Mirandola, the

Ragionamenti familiari (The Family Dialogues) (1550), and the *Dialogo sulla Sacra Scrittura* (The Dialogue on the Holy Scripture) (1552). Arrivabene also contributed to the latter work, with a dedicatory letter to Beatrice di Luna, or Gracia Nasi Mendes (1510–69), the Jewish-Portuguese merchant and patron and dedicatee of the Ferrara Bible, who settled in Constantinople in 1553 assisted by the French embassies in both Rome and Istanbul. In his letter to Beatrice Andrea Arrivabene listed Lando's Jewish friends, and he recalled how "in the past" he had "printed many of his beautiful and graceful writings [by Ortensio Lando]."[6]

During the 1540s and early 1550s, Arrivabene published works by Alessandro Piccolomini, who used his bookstore in Venice as a poste restante. And in 1544 Arrivabene published the *Libro del ben della perseveranza*, a translation of Augustine by Ludovico Domenichi. He collaborated intensely with Girolamo Ruscelli, and he also launched Giuseppe Betussi of Bassano (a client of the Collalto family, as were Girolamo Ruscelli and later Giovanni Battista Castrodardo), by publishing the *Dialogo amoroso* (Dialogue on Love) (1543) and the translations of Boccaccio's Latin works: *I casi degli huomini illustri* (On the Fates of Famous Men) (1545, 1551), *Delle donne illustri* (On Famous Women) (1545), and the *Genealogia degli Dei* (The Genealogy of Gods) (1547). He then published a collection of letters by the physician Orazio Brunetto di Porcìa, who dedicated it to Renée of France (1548), though Orazio's "envious flatterers" would have much preferred it if the physician had published only a "collection of prescriptions." Arrivabene was especially fond of that collection. The ink was still wet when he posted a copy to his friend Lucio Paolo Rosello, with whom he shared the hope for, as well as the "efforts, vigils, labors and expenses" of, a religious renewal in Venice. He also published the fourth and fifth books of Pietro Aretino's letters (1550), and in 1551, the year Pietro Manelfi accused him of being a "Lutheran," the ten sermons *Della providenza di Dio* (On God's Providence) attributed to Theodoretus of Cyrus, translated by Lucio Paolo Rosello and dedicated to the queen of France, Catherine de' Medici. The dedicatory letter of this work mentions the protection that had been granted to illustrious Florentine refugees in France such as "the right Reverend and never fully praised Monsignor Messer Pietro Carnesechi, and the very erudite Signor Luigi Alemanni."[7]

Clearly, Andrea was a bold publisher and entrepeneur. He had overtly nonconformist religious interests. He was connected to and perhaps protected by Venetian noblemen to whom he dedicated his editions (The Corner, the Mocenigo, etc.), and, especially by the Gonzaga dynasty of Cardinal Ercole on the Mantua-Venice axis. His publishing projects overlapped and were intertwined with his activities as a bookseller. Thus he turned his bookstore near Rialto into a place of nonconformist debate, frequented by Pier Paolo Vergerio and by Baldassarre Altieri, a sympathizer with the Schmalkaldic League and an agent for the Tudors in Italy. His bookstore was also used as a poste restante and, above all, became a center for the distribution and

contraband of nonconformist pamphlets and religious literature.

An exhaustive study on the publisher and his catalogue has yet to be conducted, but we do know that his bookstore served as the arrival point for the contraband of Protestant literature animated by Pietro Perna by means of which the editions printed by Johannes Oporinus in Basel arrived in Italy. It is most likely that these also included the Islamic encyclopedia published by Oporinus and Bibliander in 1543. Andrea Arrivabene was also very close to the groups that read, discussed, and translated the New Testament, which had developed around Massimo Teofilo, Zuane de Honestis, and Girolamo and Cornelio Donzellino from Brescia. These figures were responsible for the arrival of French nonorthodox texts, translations and paraphrases of the gospel such as *Le dotte et pie parafrasi, sopra l'epistole di S. Paolo* (The Learned and Pious Paraphrases on the Letters of Saint Paul) by Cornelio Donzellino: a work that had been printed in France in 1551, but that Andrea Arrivabene had wanted to edit and reprint again in Venice.[8]

Arrivabene was surely one of the most important retailers of nonorthodox books active in Venice in the middle of the sixteenth century. He was closely linked in Mantua territory with the city of Viadana's "school of heretics," led by the pharmacist Viano de Viani. Arrivabene provided them with vernacular translations of the gospel and the classics of evangelical literature in vernacular: these included the *Medicina dell'anima* (The Medicine of the Soul), the *Sommario della Sacra Scrittura* (The Summary of the Holy Scripture,) and the incendiary *Beneficio di Christo* (The Benefit of Christ's Death). In a letter he wrote to Viano de Viani in August 1549, Arrivabene described the *Beneficio* as being "a lovely work, one filled with the fire of life for those gifts that we ungrateful ones have received from our benign Jesus Christ." He expressed hope that Viani "would be very grateful to it, in that it is filled with every good that you will discover you have obtained thanks to the same very benign Christ." After all, the spirituality of the *Beneficio* pervaded all of Andrea's correspondence with Viadana's "school," and, as we shall see, also pervaded the letter to the readers of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.[9]

ANDREA ARRIVABENE AND HISTORY BOOKS

We already know that for centuries the *Alcorano di Macometto* was considered an awkward and poor translation of the Qur'an. During the 1970s and 1980s the Italian historian Carlo De Frede began analyzing this book in relation to the context of its nonconformist readership, but focusing again only on the translation of the Qur'an into the vernacular as a text capable of satisfying the religious curiosity of nonorthodox Italian and Italian-speaking readers. This approach is not incorrect, but it cannot be univocal. If we want to understand the complex nature of the *Alcorano*, we should first analyze the book in its publishing context and then in relation to its readership. Arrivabene was a publisher, seller, and smuggler of nonconformist works, but he was also the

author, translator, and publisher of history books: this companion to Islam and the Ottoman Empire, which includes the Italian translation of the Qur'an, ought to be classified within this genre. The *Alcorano di Macometto* is, first of all, a history book. It is a book of religious and imperial history. Furthermore, it is a book on the history of Islam, both as a religion and as a political power, as well as a historical and protoethnographic companion to the Ottoman Empire.

A close analysis of Andrea Arrivabene's catalog clearly reveals his commercial and intellectual interest in historical translations and contemporary works of history. As early as 1539 and again in 1540, Andrea published Niccolò Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories*, and in 1543 and again in 1544 he published under his name *Le vite, i costumi et fatti degl'imperatori romani* (The Lives, Customs, and Deeds of the Roman Emperors), an abridged translation of historians from late antiquity such as Sextus Aurelius Victor (fl. 360–89), Eutropius (fl. 363–87), and Paolus Diaconus (720–99). These titles tell us a lot about the flourishing market of history books intended for a very broad public. They also provide information about the milieu in which Arrivabene met the translator of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo. For instance, a translation of Eutropius was also published in 1544 by Michele Tramezino, for whom Giovanni Battista Castrodardo worked as a translator of history books that very same year.

Andrea Arrivabene dedicated his version of *Le Vite* to Nicola Corner, the son of the Venetian nobleman Marco Antonio Corner, who was apparently "beyond every esteem very kind" toward his father Giorgio Arrivabene. In his dedicatory letter, Arrivabene emphasized the usefulness of history, a discipline that was necessary if one was "to become prudent in human actions and know how to behave in public matters, learning from past events how to behave in the present." It was crucial, he continued, "to be familiar with stories from the past, which teach us how to live, and allow us to live as well as to understand the times; it is especially important to know about stories that recount the great deeds of the emperors and great men."[10]

This dedicatory letter, of course, is not an isolated case. From a close examination of Arrivabene's editions in Italian held in Roman libraries, we can deduce that Arrivabene's voice appeared especially in history books. Of the ten contributions by the publisher I have located in over seventy books in Italian published by Arrivabene, five appear in history books, while the others are spread out across several genres: civil oratory, collections of poetry, and the comedies by his friend Alessandro Piccolomini. Andrea Arrivabene was shrewd enough to understand and influence a fast-changing book market. He fulfilled the ever-growing demand for history works in vernacular, small books, and concise encyclopedias. He wanted to satisfy the new urban readership that included the young daughters and sons of the Venetian aristocracy, as well as new professional figures, who were unskilled in Latin, but curious about measuring up to various genres and works translated into

the vernacular.[11]

Beyond *Le Vite*, truly "a small gift" of a work before the magnificence of the dedicatee, "and yet big enough" if "we consider the beauty of history," in 1544 Arrivabene shifted his attention toward fifteenth-century historiography, of which, as we shall see, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo was a passionate reader as well. Arrivabene published the histories of the Sforza family by Giovanni Simonetta (d. approx. 1491) but translated from Latin into Italian by Cristoforo Landino. Then he continued to look at contemporary history by publishing a work on the war of the League of Cambrai (1508–16). In 1544, while Tramezino was printing the *Commentarii dei fatti d'Aquileia* (Commentaries on the Deeds of Aquileia) by Giovanni Candido (d. 1528), Arrivabene issued the Italian translation of the *Bellum Cameracense* (The War of Cambrai) (1525) by Andrea Mocenigo (1473–1542). This translation has often been attributed to Andrea himself, because he signed the dedicatory letter to Andrea Mocenigo's sons, Girolamo and Giovanni Battista. Again at the very heart of his letter are the benefits of revealing history and the defense of the intellectual dignity of the Italian language. Arrivabene wished to "offer help to the human intellects" and promised "to have translated into Italian some of the worthiest and most praiseworthy histories, so that even those who do not know Latin could be informed of what had come to pass, and by so doing, thanks to the example of others, be more cautious in the course of their own feats." He thus chose "among the many books" that he could "donate to Italy," that is, to a public of lettered Italians that he was clearly aware of, "the war of the League of Cambrai written by your eminently erudite and forever-praised and magnificent father." He added that it was a "story truly worthy of being read by every man." He also praised the author "for the gravity of the sentences and for respecting the rules of writing history," and the work, because it could be "compared to that of any historian worthy of praise." This passage is followed by much praise and a list of the members of the "most esteemed Mocenigo family."[12]

This is the editorial frame within which the dedicatory letter of the *Alcorano di Macometto* was written in 1547. In his letter to Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon, in fact, Arrivabene dwelt at length on the usefulness of the "lessons of history." Though the *Alcorano* is a book that is "contrary to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for this reason at first sight seems to be not just useless but harmful," nonetheless "the firmest opinion is that the lesson it contains can be of use to many and in many ways." Once again Arrivabene focused, according to the common editorial rhetoric, on "reading histories," but this time on the "very useful ones that contain the description of religions and empires." The description of religions demonstrated "expressly that in every era our Church has been persecuted and afflicted." Interestingly, it was a church that for Arrivabene "depends solely on the rule of divine grace and is neither upheld nor is able to thrive by way of human Providence." A description of religions was therefore needed to understand "what the genuine and sincere

religion is" and so that one would never give in to the temptation to "accept something that is somehow contrary to what is known." Knowledge of other religions was believed to prevent one from getting lost before the "true and sincere religion" that was based, as we shall see more clearly in the following chapter, on the "pure Word of God": that is, on "His most Holy Gospel," the only "safe and secure fundament of our own true salvation." The description of religions, along with the efforts under way to translate the Gospels in Arrivabene's circles, served to prevent losing sight of the truth of what Arrivabene meant by Christian religion. Of course, in this context political and religious claims were intertwined, and the description of the empires could not be overlooked. According to Italian humanism and contemporary political theory, it was necessary for "the princes, the republics, and all those designated to the government and rule of the people, or who somehow have an eager interest in maintaining the states, to carefully analyze the present kingdoms, and understand by means of which arts, along which paths, and how they were born and gradually grew. And even more so, what the nature of the different nations, the wills, the opinions is, what their religions, laws, and customs are, and what restrictions and conditions bind them together, which of them are enemies, and which aspire to the monarchy, which rules and what discipline is used to preserve peace between them and how they are governed in the course of a war."[13] The *Alcorano di Macometto* was not merely an awkward translation of the Qur'an. Rather, it was a handy, very rich, and multifaceted companion to Islam. According to its publisher, it was a very beneficial work "for both the one and the other consideration," that is, religion and political theory. What Arrivabene meant by this was that this book was both a history of Islam and of the political institutions and customs of the Ottoman Empire. It was a popular encyclopedia that, behind the protective anti-Islamic propaganda that was necessary to avoid the restrictions of Venetian and Roman authorities, presented itself as a necessary tool of information in both times of war and, as in this case, of military alliances. Christian lords and princes might find it truly useful to "have some information about their affairs, in order to be more educated and know how to behave in every situation, either in peace or in war, that may arise, as it is important to know how to relate to such a power so that it is no longer our enemy, or, if it is our enemy, so that it cannot harm us in the way that it at times could."[14] This was not an anti-Qur'an, or just an abridged translation of the Qur'an filled with the necessary polemical annotations and a paratext of historical works. Rather, it was a complex pocket encyclopedia that satisfied the needs of different types of readers, of a broad-ranging public, and that complemented the titles listed in Arrivabene's catalog. He was a publisher who, during the 1550s, after printing the *Ritratto del vero governo del prencipe* (The Portrait of the True Government of the Prince) by his friend Lucio Paolo Rosello (1552), started printing translations of travelogues that were in great demand. Between 1556 and 1557 Arrivabene published *La seconda parte delle*

Historie generali dell'India (The Second Part of the General Histories of India) by Francisco López de Gómara (1511–66), as well as *La prima parte dell'istorie del Perù* (The First Part of the Histories of Perù) by Pedro Cieza de León (1518–54).

In March 1556, Arrivabene dedicated the latter work to Alessandro Contarini (post 1480–1564), who was the Venetian ambassador (*bailo*) to Istanbul during the first years of d'Aramon's embassy (1547–53), linking the Levantine exoticism appreciated by Contarini to the new trends and readings about all things from across the ocean. By the middle of the 1550s, Contarini had become an armchair traveler, someone whose traveling days were over, but who was still "eager to hear from others, and even more so to read in the works of trustworthy authors the things that he had seen firsthand while traveling around the world." As *bailo* of the Republic of Venice (1544–47) Contarini had "seen most of the Levant." We know, in fact, that he wrote reports to the Venetian Senate from Klis and from Šibenik, from Split and also from Poreč in Croatia, and, of course, from Edirne and Istanbul. Contarini was a diplomat who had always amused himself "by reading not just the ancient writers who discussed cosmography, but also all those modern ones who have written or are writing about these new parts of the world." Arrivabene offered him a work suited to his taste, a geographical and protoethnographic account of Perù translated "from the Spanish into Italian." Careful, though: Contarini was able to "completely understand" the book "in the same language which its author had written it in," but Arrivabene knew that the gift "was even more precious to him in our own language." A love for the beauty of the Italian language that was widely shared among the multilingual Italian readers if we believe Arrivabene when he pointed out that the Italian translation "was immensely desired by many other Italians who were in any case capable of understanding the Spanish version."[15]

A few years later, in 1560, Arrivabene again wrote a short letter published in the paratext of the ten dialogues *Della historia* (On History) by the philosopher Francesco Patrizi of Cherso (1529–97). Here the publisher returned to the importance of history books. In this work, "argued about and discussed [are] all the things that relate to history and to the action of writing it and observing it. This [history] is very beneficial to the fate of mankind, and even more so to those who were born to govern others. This [history] has hitherto been dealt with by very few writers and inadequately so."[16] Of course, Arrivabene used his short letter to the readers to promote his publications as well. In these dialogues, in fact, the reader would also find "a good example of what Patrizi will write in about rhetoric." In other words, the reader will find short previews of the ten dialogues *Della retorica* (On Rhetoric) that were soon to be published, in 1562.[17]

The texts Arrivabene signed as a publisher tell us that he was commercially and intellectually fond of history books. These ranged from ancient history to the accounts of contemporary Italian wars, from the history of Arab and

Ottoman Islam to the protoethnographic historiography of the New World, and to historical theory. Though the *Alcorano di Macometto* was not part of an official series of publications, like the Venetian publisher Giolito's *gioie historiche* (historical jewels), at least it was part of a kind of editorial line, consisting of history books to which Andrea Arrivabene personally contributed. Examining the *Alcorano* within this informal series of history books dedicated to a general readership, we can more easily understand its genesis, the personality of the translator-author, the range of his cultural passions, and the nature of his sources. In short, the *Alcorano* was the Islamic and Ottoman book within the history books in Italian published by Arrivabene, and it should be described and analyzed as such.

THE EDITION OF THE *Alcorano di Macometto*

I will therefore attempt to provide a first description of the edition of the *Alcorano di Macometto* in light of new bibliological findings. First, I should recall that Arrivabene was not a printer in his own right. In the sixteenth-century publishing business, publishers who were not also printers collaborated with a large number of them. Arrivabene, for example, asked for help from twelve or thirteen printers, according to Conor Fahy. Furthermore, Arrivabene had the Italian works, the majority of those mentioned, printed in octavo format, with a frontispiece that contained nothing more than the title and the printer's mark. Currently, according to the online catalog *Edit16*, we know of at least six variants of Andrea Arrivabene's mark, among which five use the image of a well.[18]

The *Alcorano di Macometto* was a different product if compared with Arrivabene's other printings in Italian: it was more lavish and no doubt more expensive. Arrivabene's books in Italian do not have many of the material and paratextual features that are found in the *Alcorano*: the quarto format, the title page included inside a rich frame characterized by woodcut panels, the woodcut letterheads, a dedicatory letter signed by Andrea Arrivabene, an anonymous dedicatory sonnet by the Milanese poet Paolo Crivelli, and an anonymous letter to the readers, which can most likely be attributed to the translator and editor of the book, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo.

In addition to the dedicatory letter signed by Arrivabene, as noted, the publisher had a frame carved specifically for the title page of the *Alcorano*. The title page in fact consists of an elegant *cornice istoriata*, a frame composed of individual pictorial vignettes, inspired by northern European models, and influenced by the well-known title page for the 1532 Bible by Antonio Brucioli, recurring in numerous biblical vulgarizations that were contemporary to the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Making up the frame are six scenes, more or less well made, according to the Tuscan-Roman Mannerist style that was in vogue in Venice at the time. There are two smaller scenes on either side of the title page, two rectangular fields above and below the title of the book, and the date

written in lapidary capitals on a curtain. Between the title and the date is the license to print and the promotional claim— "Newly translated from the Arabic into the Italian tongue"— that so disappointed Joseph Justus Scaliger and European Orientalists all the way to the present. The six scenes offer a concise biography in pictures of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. They seem to never cast the Prophet in a negative light, neither as a pseudoprophet nor as "the messenger of the Antichrist," as annotated in the final colophon of the edition (c. 2B4*v*). Quite the contrary. Envisioned here are episodes extracted from the Arabic–Latin treatises printed in the first book: the birth of the Prophet iconographically based on the birth of Mary, or of Christ according to recent scholarship, the passing of the Muhammadan light (*nūr muḥammadiyya*), the handing over of the keys of the prophecy, the episode of Ḥalīma, the Prophet's foster mother, talking with a donkey. Other scenes refer to Muhammad's childhood, to his education, and to the episode of Muhammad's heart being washed by angels, which I will deal with in great detail in the third section of Chapter 5. In the rectangular field at the bottom, Muhammad is portrayed as a Roman prophet or a Muslim Caesar: he resembles an "armed prophet" with a book in one hand and a sword in the other, preaching to a Turkish or Oriental-like crowd of people. In the visual translation this lower field essentially consists of the portrait of Muhammad as a lawgiver reformulated by Castrodardo in his introduction, which I will also examine closely further on.[19]

I was unable to locate any further documentation concerning the license to print, the one that is already known. I am referring to the license granted, on January 23, 1548, to a certain Piero Galese "for the translation of the Alcorano from Arabic to Italian, including the annotations of the theologians in the margin, without which the book cannot be published." Another piece of information, already discussed in detail, concerning the granting of the printing license can be found in the document against the 1554–55 Venetian list of prohibited books presented by several Venetian booksellers to the inquisitorial authorities on March 7, 1555. In this document, the booksellers defend the *Alcorano di Macometto*, along with other books, as having already been approved "by the most Reverend ecclesiasts": "now accepting the same books that not too long ago were not just tolerated, but approved by the most Reverend ecclesiastics, from which we publicly received permission to print them, such as for example the *Colloqui* of Erasmus, the *Alcorano*, the *Alfabeto cristiano*, Agrippa's *De vanitate*, Erasmus's *Moria* and many other works, as these works are the same today as they were when they were approved by the above-mentioned most Reverend ecclesiastics."[20] These booksellers lamented the fact that they were being prohibited from printing works that had previously been approved for publication: this is possible indirect proof of the privilege granted to Arrivabene. The 1554–55 list, in fact, rather vaguely condemned an "Alchoranus Maumethis" with no further information on the publication, while in 1559 the first official Roman *Index of Prohibited Books*

condemns an "Alchoranus Mahometis, Basileae impressus," that is to say, Oporinus and Bibliander's edition. And, lastly, the later Roman *Index* of 1564, published right after the Council of Trent, also condemned the vernacular translations of Bibliander's edition: after that the Qur'an could only have been read if a reading license had been granted by the inquisitors. Interestingly enough, the 1564 *Index* pointed out the danger nestled in marginal notes and prefaces of Bibliander's edition, that is, in Bibliander's paratext: "et similes [libros] cum scholiis et impiis annotationibus et praefactionibus, item in vulgari lingua, non nisi ex concessione Inquisitorum haberi possit." We now could add that Arrivabene's preliminary texts were as nonconformist as Bibliander's paratext.[21]

At any rate, an exhaustive *recensio* of the exemplars held in Italian, other European, and some extra-European libraries has allowed me to gather more information on the editorial history of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Three different versions of the *Alcorano di Macometto* circulated across Europe and the Mediterranean: apparently they could be described as three *states* of the same edition. The differences between the three states vary in nature. In the transition from the first to the second state the preliminary texts were replaced. The first state included a preliminary quire that was removed and replaced in the transition to the second state: that is to say, a *cancellandum* was replaced by a *cancellans*. The differences between the second and third states of the edition instead involved the addition of three quires at the end of the introduction.

Arrivabene seemed to have at first provided a quarto edition with thirty-eight preliminary leaves (xxxviii, signature: a–i4 k2), and one hundred leaves divided into three books (100, A–2B4). From the very start, the text was divided into a structure of four parts (intro +3) in which the introduction and the first book contained the story of the life of the Prophet Muhammad and his doctrine along with a description of Ottoman customs, while the second and third book contained the Italian translation of the Qur'an (for a detailed description of the contents, see the Appendix).[22]

The three books are based on Bibliander's 1543 Islamic encyclopedia, although Castrodardo clearly kept in view at least one manuscript of the Latin *Corpus islamolatinum* in addition to the printed version. In the second and third book Castrodardo reduced and compressed the text of the Qur'an, as I discuss in Chapter 6, while the first book presents the life and doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad according to the Arabic-Latin Muslim sources published in Bibliander.

Here Castrodardo reassembles in chronological order, as previously indicated by Hartmut Bobzin, the twelfth-century Latin translation of Arabic works on early Islam and the life of Muhammad. These texts are known as *Fabulae Saracenorum* (Fables of the Saracens) and they were printed in the Basel encyclopedia. These texts are Robert of Ketton's *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum* (The Mendacious and Ridiculous Chronicles of the

Saracens) and the *De generatione Machumet* (The Birth of Muhammad) and the *Doctrina Machumet* (The Doctrine of Muhammad) by Herman of Carinthia. The last text is glossed in the margins with printed annotations by the Catholic Orientalist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter, already published at the end of his edition of the *Doctrina Machumet*, published under title *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata* (1543).

The long introduction, however, offers a new and original version of the life of Muhammad "based on Christian histories," which thus duplicates the supply of biographic works on the Prophet. Here Castrodardo reassembles contemporary Italian and Latin sources on Islam unknown to Bibliander, including the *Costumi de' Turchi* (Customs of the Turks) by Luigi Bassano da Zara (d. post 1552) written in 1545, and several *Turcica* by the Croatian-Hungarian Bartolomej Georgijevič (1505c.–post 1569), which flooded the European market in the 1540s. The 1544 *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* (On the Rites and Ceremonies of the Turks) especially stands out among them.[23]

Castrodardo also widely consulted the *Opera chiamata confusione della Setta Machumetana* (Confutation of the Sect of Muhammad). This text is attributed to the Muslim jurist (*faqīh*) and Iberian Morisco and convert from Játiva Juan Andrés (fl. 1487–1515). It was printed in 1515 in Castilian and translated into Italian in 1537 by Domingo de Gaztelu, secretary to the Habsburg ambassador in Venice, Lope de Soria. This anti-Islamic pamphlet by a former Muslim scholar was very successful in all of Europe: it was translated into Latin, French, English, German, and Dutch. Its Italian version was reprinted many times during the 1540s: in 1540, 1541, and 1543. In 1545 it was published by the printer Bartholomeo l'Imperador, with whom Andrea Arrivabene collaborated between 1544 and 1545. The translator and editor of the *Alcorano* used another important source in rewriting his version of Muhammad's life in the introduction of the book. This was again a history book, actually a book on the history of Venice: the *De origine urbis Venetiarum* (On the Origins of the City of Venice) by the Venetian historian and diplomat Bernardo Giustinian (1408–89), published posthumously at the beginning of 1492 (and later in 1534), translated into Italian by Ludovico Domenichi, and printed by Bernardino Bindoni in 1545.[24]

I will now describe the three states of the edition. In the first state of the edition the long introduction (a–i4 k2) and the three books (A–2B4), are prefaced by four leaves of preliminary paratextual materials, including the dedicatory letter to Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon and an anonymous dedicatory sonnet attributed to the poet Paolo Crivelli of Milan (✚4). So far, I have found this first state of the edition, which has never been analyzed before, in only one of the two exemplars held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (R.G.Oriente.IV.475). This exemplar is probably missing a leaf (a1) which in the two later states contains the anonymous letter to the readers that I attribute to Giovanni Battista Castrodardo. The following is a brief description of the first state; see the Appendix for a more complete one.

L'ALCORANO | DI MACOMETTO. | la vita, la dot- | trina, i costvmi | et le sve leggi | Nuouamente dal Arabo | tradotto in uolgare. | Con Gratie, e Priuilegi | M D XLVII |

[4], xxxviii, 100; 4°

✚4 a–i4 k2 A–2B4

The exemplar in the Vatican library in question bears a first version of the preliminary paratext that differs from that which has been known until now and that can be read in the second and third states of the edition. What we have here is what is referred to as a *cancellandum* in textual bibliography; that is, a section of one or more leaves rejected and replaced during the course of the printing by a second definite *cancellans*. And in fact, at a second stage, unsatisfied with the quality of the paratext and above all with the dedicatory letter that bore his signature, Arrivabene erased and replaced the quire ✚4 with five leaves πA4 πB1, that is with a cancellans that then became the canonical version of the paratext in both the second and third states of the edition. The operation was not uncommon, nor was it complicated from a technical point of view, as the preliminary paratext was printed last and usually in a separate and independent quire in the signature. The publisher's attempt to touch up the edition left a trace, however: a few exemplars bearing the cancellandum began to circulate and thrived along with the first version, the unofficial and rejected one, of the preliminary paratext. This occurred in at least one case, in the exemplar held in the Vatican library described above.[25]

The material and especially textual variants between the two versions of the paratext must be pointed out. While the woodcut frame of the frontispiece is exactly the same, in the second state the title, the formula concerning the translation, and the license were recomposed in the blank space of the drapery. For instance, the notorious formula that made Scaliger so unhappy was rewritten as follows: "Newly translated from the Arabic into the vulgar tongue" became "Newly translated from the Arabic into the Italian tongue." However, the most evident material and textual variants can be seen in the dedicatory letter. Here the title, the font used (from roman to italic), the length of the text itself, and the woodcut initial had all changed. In this regard, I need to highlight that the initial Q of the cancellandum (2*r*) matches the initial Q present on leaf A2*r* of the *De monte, quem de pietate appellant decisio* by Francesco Papafava of Padua (d. 1551), printed in quarto by Bernardino Bindoni and Giacomo Fabriano in 1547.

Hence, if we take a close look at its woodcut initials, we can see that the *Alcorano di Macometto* shares similarities with the *Genealogia degli dei* by Boccaccio/Betussi printed as stated in the colophon by Comin da Trino for Andrea Arrivabene in 1547. This latter work also shares the woodcut initial C (Y2*r*) with the *Compendio della stirpe di Carlo Magno et Carlo V* (Compendium of the Stock of Charlemagne and Charles V) by Pietro Mareno (E1*r*), printed by Bernardino Bindoni in Venice in 1545 and dedicated by Domingo de Gaztelu to Cosimo de' Medici. We could therefore advance the hypothesis of a collaboration between Arrivabene and Bindoni's workshop

over the course of 1547, active collaboration in force from at least 1544 for the printing of the *Paradossi* by Ortensio Lando. And we might even go so far as to imagine that in one of the meals between Andrea Arrivabene, Bernardino Bindoni, and Pietro Perna described in the novel *Q* written by the group of Italian authors who go by the name of "Luther Blissett," the *Alcorano di Macometto* was one of the topics of conversation. But notwithstanding the concessions to Italian historical novels, and the meals eaten around Campo Sant'Angelo, where Andrea Arrivabene really did live and rented a house, subletting a part of it, let us now compare the texts of the dedicatory letter to Gabriel Luetz printed in the cancellandum with the one of the cancellans.[26]

The textual variants are significant both in style and, as I discuss in the next chapter, religious doctrine. The general refinement of the tone, according to Tuscan models, is evident: from "lasso" to "lascio," from "servidore" to "servitore," from "inimiche" to "nemiche." The text was brimming over with eloquence, filled with redundant hendiadyses and rounder periphrases. For instance, the "ecelenti virtù et rare sue qualità" in the cancellandum was replaced in the cancellans by "l'eccellenti virtù sue et le rare et egregie sue qualità." A concise passage such as "et in questo son certissimo ch'io non m'inganno, son sicuro ch'egli è così" was changed to a periphrasis that is rather more emphatic in rhythm and adulation: "né posso già dubitare d'esermi punto ingannato nel giuditio che di lei e della grandezza sua ho fatto, anzi ne debbo in tutti i modi esser certissimo." The positive adjectives became absolute superlatives: from "esser sicuro" to "stare sicurissimo," or from "famous" to "very famous captain." The cancellans was also rounded out by a quotation from Bibliander's own preliminary paratext, which has commonly been indicated as proof of its connection with the Basel printing but was still absent in the cancellandum. The reading of this book is truly useful "massimamente in questi turbulentissimi tempi, nei quali la religione insieme con tutte l'altre cose christiane, sono per aventura in maggior travaglio che mai più siano state in tutti i passati secoli," a passage that follows Bibliander's paratext underscoring the "seculum hoc turbatissimum," and the need for a reading of the Qur'an in a situation of political conflict: "quare mihi videtur hoc tempore lectio Alcorani non modo utilis, verum etiam necessaria, ut melius ad omnem fortunam nos parare atque instruere possimus."[27]

Paolo Crivelli's sonnet, which is clearly based on Dante's verses on the Angel Gabriel in *Purgatorio* 10: 34–39, also contained some variants. The sonnet in the cancellandum differs from that printed in the second and third states of the *Alcorano*, as well as from that which appeared in the second book of the *Rime* printed by Giolito and curated by Ludovico Domenichi in 1548. For instance, the fifth line is as follows in the cancellandum: "Così il gran Re dei Franchi in voi rimesse," which in the *Rime* reads: "Così il gran Re de' Franchi in voi remesse," while the cancellans instead reads: "Così il gran Re dei Franchi a voi commesse." Just a verse by way of example to indicate that this quire might be useful, for instance, in the edition of the rhymes of Paolo Crivelli. As

previously, here is a brief description of the second state and the reference once again to the Appendix.[28]

> L'ALCORANO | DI MACOMETTO, | NEL QVAL SI CONTIE | NE LA DOTTRINA, | LA VITA, I CO= | STVMI, ET LE | LEGGI SVE.
> | Tradotto nuouamente dall'Arabo | in lingua Italiana. Con Gratie, e Priuilegii. | M D XLVII.
> [5], xxxviii, 100
> πA4 πB1 a–i4 k2 A–2B4

There is also a third state of the edition, which was probably produced slightly later, and which should be dated from at least post 1548. Once the preliminary paratext was replaced with the cancellans the edition began to circulate widely in a first version. Nonetheless, we find a third group of exemplars that presents a further variant. This group of exemplars is larger than the previous and it includes an addition of twelve leaves at the end of the introduction (xxxix–l). Three new quires were added with the signature following (l–n4) that of the introduction (a–i4 k2). It seems possible to date this operation to a period post 1548. The materials added are easily identifiable with excerpts from the two works published in 1548 by Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence and by Vincenzo Valgrisi in Venice. The first section (l1*r*–n2*v*), reproduces almost the entire first book of the protoethnographic treatise on the Ottomans by Giovanni Antonio Menavino according to Valgrisi's Venetian edition. The titles of the sections confirm the links with Valgrisi's edition:

> *Alcorano*, xxxix–v:
> La espositione del primo comandamento, che è dello amare Iddio. Cap. III.
> G.A. Menavino, *Trattato de' costumi et vita*, Florence, Torrentino, 1548, 17*r*:
> Esposizione del primo Comandamento, Capitolo III.
> G.A. Menavino, *I Cinque libri*, 1548 (Venice, Valgrisi), 1548, 18*r*:
> La espositione del primo comandamento che è dello amare Iddio. Cap. III.

The second section of the materials added to the third state (n2*v*– n4*v*) published the *Prophetia in lingua turchesca* (The Prophecy in the Turkish Language) by Bartolomej Georgijevič, translated into Italian by Ludovico Domenichi, and printed along with Menavino's text by Vincenzo Valgrisi in 1548. Some previous bibliographical descriptions of the book only analyzed the third state of the *Alcorano*, considering the exemplar bearing the second state to be missing twelve leaves and, importantly, ignoring the existence of the cancellandum that I found in the Vatican exemplar. The difference between the second and third states is highlighted by the British Library's online catalog, which indicates the addition of three quires in the exemplar with an introduction of fifty leaves (that is in the third state): "with the addition of 12 leaves in the introduction, dealing with Mohammedan Law."[29]

In summary, there are three groups of exemplars that reflect three successive stages of the product: a first state, with the cancellandum quire of the preliminary text, that seems not to have circulated all that widely. A

second state, in which the cancellandum was replaced by the cancellans and with an introduction of thirty-eight leaves. And, last, a later third state, with an introduction of fifty leaves, courtesy of the addition of three quires taken from a work printed by Vincenzo Valgrisi in 1548. The following is a brief description of the third state of the edition. A more exhaustive description is provided in the Appendix.

> L'ALCORANO | DI MACOMETTO, | NEL QVAL SI CONTIE | NE LA DOTTRINA, | LA VITA, I CO= | STVMI, ET LE | LEGGI SVE.
> | Tradotto nuouamente dall'Arabo | in lingua Italiana. Con Gratie, e Priuilegii. | M D XLVII.
> [5], l, 100
> πA4 πB1 a–i4 k2 l–n4 A–2B4

After analyzing the three states of the edition and suggesting the place of this book within Arrivabene's catalog of Italian books, I will explore the political, religious, and cultural context in which the *Alcorano di Macometto* first came to light.

CHAPTER 3

"What Everybody Wishes for and Keeps Silent"

Analysis of the Context Through the Paratext

THE EMBASSY OF GABRIEL LUETZ D'ARAMON

On March 9, 1547, from Ragusa, the poet and jeweler Paolo Crivelli wrote to his friend Orazio Brunetto of Porcìa (1521–87). The day before, "with the help of God and in spite of the headwind," as a member of the delegation of Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon he had disembarked, "in the beautiful city of Epidaurus, now called Ragusa." Crivelli was unfamiliar with the city, and it actually seemed "much better" than he had expected. The sea voyage had been difficult, though. As far as he could remember, it was the first time ever that "Venetian galleys" had "sailed from Venice to Ragusa by oar without ever exposing their sails to the wind." However, the pleasantness of the lands and the gentle variety of the coastline, the ports, and the gulfs had mitigated "the bitterness of this long voyage." One day "three or four times we went on land, in different places each time, always dancing, always playing, always singing, and we had as much fun as one can have in any honorable and good company."[1] Paolo Crivelli's Italian friends deeply regretted his journey to the East. Anton Francesco Doni, for example, writing from Florence to Lelio Sozzini on April 1, 1547, expressed his dismay as follows: "Crivelli's departure for Constantinople took place unexpectedly, and it spoiled many of my plans aimed at your interests and at those of your friends." Crivelli's friends were right to be so concerned. We know for a fact, from the testimony given in 1557 to the inquisitors by Alessandro Caravia, who was very close to Crivelli, that Crivelli was to die during the journey, either in Istanbul or in Anatolia, while he was participating in the Ottoman anti-Persian campaign of 1548.[2]

Because of his literary talent, and his expertise in gemstones, which Süleyman was particularly fond of, Crivelli had gotten into d'Aramon's good graces. We know, in fact, from the secretary to the imperial embassy in Venice, Fernando Montesa, that d'Aramon had brought to Süleyman gifts of "precious stones and silk worth 20 thousand ducats, most of which had been purchased in Venice" in February 1547. Crivelli himself, in a letter that would soon afterward be published in the collection of Orazio Brunetto, printed by Arrivabene and dedicated to Renée of France, praised the adventure "of this

voyage, of the many and so beautiful events that have taken place," believing it to be "a matter worthy of the immortal pen of our own Signor [Ludovico] Dolce."[3]

This was an adventurous journey indeed, and worthy of being narrated by a famous writer such as Ludovico Dolce, one of Crivelli's friends. We know that it was because of the intercession of Paolo Crivelli that Orazio Brunetto came into contact with Ludovico Dolce. We also know that the sonnet Crivelli dedicated to the French ambassador, and published in Giolito's collection of *Rime* in 1548, had appeared in the preliminary paratext of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Crivelli was, therefore, involved in both Gabriel d'Aramon's embassy and in Arrivabene's publication of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. His sonnet alluded to some verses on the Archangel Gabriel in Dante's *Purgatorio* 10: 34–39. And essentially it was an onomastic play on words according to which the ambassador, Gabriel d'Aramon, was hailed as a new archangel Gabriel, as an ἄγγελος (*ànghelos*); that is, a messenger sent to the East with the aim of forging a new alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire:

> Quel venne in terra coll'alto decreto
> Della molt'anni desiata pace,
> Di colui che morendo il ciel n'aprio.
> Et voi quasi corrier celeste et pio
> Ven gite all'Oriente humile et cheto
> A' trattar quel ch'il mondo brama et tace.
> (He came to earth with the high decree
> Of the peace for many years desired,
> Of he who upon dying the sky opened up to
> And you like a celestial and pious messenger
> Come to the Orient humble and meek
> To discuss what everybody wishes for and keeps silent.)

But what exactly were the negotations Gabriel d'Aramon was involved in, and what was it that everybody "wished for" and "kept silent"? Why did everybody "keep silent"? And perhaps most importantly, who exactly was the "everybody" Paolo Crivelli was referring to? To understand the context in which the *Alcorano di Macometto* was published and read, and therefore the political and diplomatic juncture in which it was published, we need to examine the preliminary texts, and especially Andrea Arrivabene's dedicatory letter to Gabriel d'Aramon.

Historians of early modern Italy have already suggested the importance of such research. In 2001 Massimo Firpo listed several "figures worth examining more closely, such as, for instance, Gabriel d'Aramon, ambassador to Constantinople in the 1540s, surrounded by many characters of dubious orthodoxy, both French (including Jean Chesneau) and Italian, whom he had met in Venice." Not long before, Giorgio Vercellin wondered whether there had "ever been any discussion as to why Arrivabene had chosen to devote his book to a foreign diplomat who was passing through Venice." The historian Carlo De

Frede, who was the first to address the historical and ideological context of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, found it rather "strange that it was to someone who was the negotiator of the alliance between France and the Turk that Arrivabene addressed to defend the usefulness of his edition." In addition to overlooking the importance of the letter ("words of convenience, evidently, and nothing more than that," he would stress a decade later), De Frede's judgement largely depended on the pioneering, but in this case inaccurate, pages of Aldobrandino Malvezzi. In the middle of the 1950s Malvezzi wrote that "obviously, Arrivabene was not aware of the incongruence in expressing such thoughts [of anti-Islamic controversy] concerning the Turks in a letter addressed to the person who, to the dismay of the whole of Europe, had at that very same time established an alliance with them."[4]

THE TERRIBLE WINTER OF 1547

Unlike what Malvezzi believed, however, Arrivabene was fully aware of what he was publishing, and above all to whom he was dedicating the book. Arrivabene was requesting protection from a man who was very well known in Venice, especially among anti-Habsburg and anti-Medicean political refugees and Italian religious nonconformists who supported the Schmalkaldic League against Charles V. In February 1547, between approval of the decree on the justification (January 7, 1547) and institution of the *Tre Savi sopra l'Eresia* in Venice (April 22, 1547) and Charles V's defeat of the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League in Mülberg (April 24, 1547), Gabriel d'Aramon arrived in Venice on his way to Adrianopolis (nowadays Edirne). Francis I sent d'Aramon to the Ottoman Empire in order to convince Sultan Süleyman to attack the Habsburg army both in Hungary and in the Mediterranean.[5]

A critical political juncture marked Gabriel d'Aramon's travels from France to Istanbul. This occurred before the Battle of Mülberg, and at the end of a very intense biennium that began with the opening of the Council of Trent, the Farnese feoffment of Parma and Piacenza, and the election of Doge Francesco Donà in Venice (November 24, 1545), renowned for being anti-Habsburg and antipapal, greeted enthusiastically by Pier Paolo Vergerio. In short, the Italian peninsula was brimming with plots and conspiracies (Genoa, Lucca, and later Naples), and plans to revolt by Italian religious nonconformists had not as yet been quashed. In the writings of Pier Paolo Vergerio in 1545 and Francesco Stancaro in 1547, Venice was still the place where the hopes of Italian religious and political nonconformists were focused. The historian Aldo Stella has already demonstrated that the Venetian government gave hope to the Italian sympathizers with Lutheranism, cautiously approaching anti-Habsburg positions especially after the new diplomatic alliance between France and England in the fall of 1546. At the same time, the Venetian government entertained secret relations with the Schmalkaldic League by way of Italian agents linked to the French Embassy, Piero Strozzi, and the British Embassy,

such as Ludovico Dall'Armi, Guido Giannetti da Fano, and Baldassarre Altieri. The latter was the secretary to the English ambassador Edmund Harvel, and he offered to act as the unofficial representative of the league in Venice or, preferably, "in Italy," as he wrote to Filippo d'Assia in June 1546. According to what the Habsburg ambassador wrote in July 1546, "the agent of the King of England and Ludovico dall'Armi are negotiating to form a league between Venice, their king and the King of France, and through the King of England they pledge the friendship of the Protestants, and through the King of France, the Turk's support."[6]

In short, between the summer of 1546 and the end of the winter of 1547, the Venetian government seemed to listen "willingly," albeit with diffident prudence, to "the ambassador of the Lutherans" and his anti-Habsburg proposals. These were the league's conditions: "that the Turk be granted the rest of Hungary along with Austria; that France be granted Milan and that Savoie and Piedmont be confirmed; that Venice be confirmed as concerns all that it already possesses of the Empire to which the territory of the Tyrol should be added. That the Lutherans be content with Germany, restoring the freedom it once had and freeing it from Austrian tyranny." The negotations lasted until the death of Henry VIII (January 28, 1547) and Francis I (March 31, 1547), and until the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League (April 24, 1547), after which the Venetian government, Aldo Stella summarized, "hastened to withdraw into a position of unwavering neutrality, calling off the election of the ambassador destined to England, making all trace of the anti-Spanish agreement disappear, going so far as to openly display a commitment to the persecution of the heretics." Jean de Morvillier, the French ambassador in Venice (1546–50), had an enthusiastic impression of Venetian politics in October 1547. The Venetians, he wrote, "doubt and mistrust the emperor," and they participated "in the victory and defeat of the Protestants." However, after a few months in Venice, he would depart exhausted owing to the wearying procrastination of the Republic of Venice, aimed at safeguarding its autonomy, the legitimating faith of the fathers, and the trade of its rich patrician families: in Italy and in the East, and thus in Spain, in Germany, and in Flanders.[7]

Returning to the first months of 1547, the final months in the life of Francis I, because of the new peace with England, the king of France was free to negotiate on both the Ottoman and German fronts, especially through the many agents he had in Venice. The city was filled with refugees at his service, tied to the international network of the anti-Medicean family of the Strozzi. And Venice was where, at the beginning of February 1547, Gabriel d'Aramon arrived and stayed for two weeks. Now the "celestial and pious ambassador" had to revive French policies in the eastern Mediterranean and in eastern Europe. His mission, then, was to be sumptuous: it was to be a political and diplomatic embassy, but also a scientific and erudite expedition to the Levant.

During his embassy (1547–53), Gabriel d'Aramon sponsored a large group of "high-ranking travelers." His diplomatic mission was, in fact, as François

Tinguely wrote, a veritable "prolonging, not just geographical but chronological, of Francis I's patronage." Among *les compagnons d'Aramon* were the naturalists Pierre Belon and Pierre Gilles, the Orientalist Guillaume Postel, and the geographers Nicolas de Nicolay and André Thevet. This was a group of intellectuals whose different perspectives on the Ottoman Empire converged in a synoptic corpus of texts that Tinguely, in tribute to the ambassador, named *corpus aramontin*.[8]

In the bitter winter of 1547, Andrea Arrivabene was zealously working on the diffusion of nonorthodox literature and collaborating with Italian intellectuals and agents linked with the French Crown and the Duchess of Ferrara (Ortensio Lando, Orazio Brunetto, Lucio Paolo Rosello, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Vincenzo Maggi, and Paolo Crivelli). Furthermore, he dedicated the *Alcorano di Macometto* to an ambassador whose negotiations could have changed the future of many sympathizers with the Reformation circulating in Venice, and was the principal agent of the new Mediterranean patronage orchestrated in France by Cardinal de Tournon.

D'Aramon was in fact known for his liberality. Traces of this characteristic can be seen in Arrivabene's praise of the ambassador in the dedicatory letter: "Not to mention . . . the inestimable speed in giving enjoyment and benefit to others, as is known, by their own experience, to all those who have ever needed his help." Guillaume Postel benefited from the generosity of the ambassador. The mediation of that "incomparable man" enabled Postel to consult some manuscripts in Damascus, purchasing others in Jerusalem with the help of the ambassador's interpreter Faḍlhallāh ibn Ğirğis.' It was in Jerusalem, in 1549, that d'Aramon also interceded in favor of the Franciscans of Monte Sion who awaited d'Aramon "the way one awaits one's Messiah." Postel would return to Venice soon afterward to collaborate with Giovan Battista Ramusio, providing him with a translation of the geographical treatise *Taqwīm al-Buldān* by Abū 'l-Fidā. The naturalist Pierre Belon also stressed d'Aramon's kind hospitality in Istanbul and his attention in freeing Christian slaves (preferably French, of course). On his part, Arrivabene was a mindful publisher, and he chose his dedicatee carefully, asking that his renown, his name, protect the publication of the work. Thus, as was common in his world, he wrote: "Pray accept the spirit I have in serving and honoring you most broadly, and be content for the great humanity that I have in using your much honorable name as a shield for such a matter." But behind that shield, and that name, upon closer inspection, there was so much more.[9]

FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT GABRIEL LUETZ D'ARAMON

Gabriel d'Aramon was not the "humble and meek" man described in Paolo Crivelli's sonnet. His family being from Languedoc, transferred to the Dauphiné, the baron of the Rhone lands of Aramon and Valabrégues was born in 1508, the son of Jean de Luetz and Jeanne de Laudun, who were married in

1507. In 1526, Gabriel Luetz married Dauphine de Montcalm, the daughter of Jean de Montcalm, Lord of Saint-Véran. He was married a second time to Jeanne Doni, leaving her a widow before 1555. It seems Gabriel Luetz had only one natural son, whom he recognized: Marc-Alexandre, maître d'hotel to the king of Navarre (later Henry IV). Little is known about Gabriel d'Aramon's life in the 1530s. In Italy, he was remembered for his prowess in courtly life, and especially for his military valor as captain. In the dedicatory letter of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, Arrivabene's words are: "Prudence, valor, the art of war are traits that you have always been acknowledged to have, just as for any other famous captain. Proof of this can be found, among others, in the war in Provence, in that in Piedmont, in regard to which each person knows how many and which were the trials of skill and character, and which honor and praise they led to."[10] Orazio Brunetto, in his response to Crivelli's letter from Ragusa, in which he expressed his hope that the storms on the Adriatic might cease, also underlined the military prowess of the ambassador: "Nor would I be surprised, Messer Paolo, if the appearance of the famous and invincible Monsignor d'Aramon, whose name is revered by the sky, the land, and the sea, the one in the grotto of the winds, the other taking refuge in the deep dwellings of the Nereids and of Triton, Neptune and Aeolus are placated, such as on earth Bellona and Mars [the Roman War deities] surrendered to his proud look."[11] Arrivabene and Brunetto were both referring to d'Aramon's feats as "leader of the Gascons" during the wars in Provence and Piedmont of 1536–38, which Matteo Bandello, in the retinue of Cesare Fregoso, also participated in. Those were heroic feats performed alongside Italian captains, in the strongholds of Chieri, Turin, and Pinerolo, described at length by Marco Guazzo and by Girolamo Ruscelli in the supplements to the *Historie* by Paolo Giovio.[12]

In 1539 d'Aramon's dominions were confiscated, and although he fought to get them back in hand-to hand-combat, he would never succeed in doing so. After d'Aramon's fall from grace, and with the protection of the French ambassador in Venice, Guillaume Pellicier (1539–42), who was enthralled by d'Aramon's military virtues, he moved to Italy. Pellicier, who supplied the French Crown with "books and arms," that is to say, with "Greek volumes" and "Italian captains," used his new agent in more than one action from 1541. He did so in Trento, Cremona, Marano, and especially in Mirandola, France's recruitment center and the military bulwark at the crossroads between the duchy of Milan, the Venetian Terraferma (Venice's mainland), and the Papal States.[13]

In short, in the early 1540s, d'Aramon was a famous and authoritative figure in Venice. He managed to resolve a Paduan matter involving French and Italian students, for which Aretino, in July 1542, thanked him with a short letter, previously pointed out by Massimo Firpo. We do not know whether d'Aramon left Venice after 1542, perhaps following the siege of Marano or because of the Venetian government's discovery that the French Embassy paid

Venetian agents to get secret information about Venetian policies in the East. In 1542, in fact, Pellicier himself was replaced with Jean de Montluc (1508–79; 1542–46) and the people who were protected by the French Embassy were banned from the city. Among them were "factious men filled with a desire for the new," one of whom "they said was also il Turchetto, who took Marano and handed it over to the French," and certainly the Strozzi, men of "great impertinence, lavishness, and excess," and "the wife of Cesare Fregoso and his brother Alessandro," who "left rather sorrowfully at last, they say headed for Ferrara." The half-length portrait that Titian painted of Gabriel d'Aramon, now housed in the gallery of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, would thus be dated to between 1541 and 1543, not 1547.[14]

D'Aramon's first mission in Istanbul was in 1543, in the company of Antoine Escalin des Aimars, Baron de la Garde (1498–1578), also known as Captain Polin. Having succeeded Antonio Rincón to the detriment of Vincenzo Maggi and perhaps Lorenzino de' Medici, Escalin des Aimars was appointed official ambassador to Süleyman. Under way at the time was one of the most debated chapters in French foreign politics of the Ancien Régime: the scandalous Franco-Ottoman alliance that led to the failed siege of Nice and the wintering of the Ottoman fleet in the port of Toulon. Between 1543 and 1544 d'Aramon was active between Istanbul, Italy and France. In the spring of 1544, "the time having come to set sail," the Ottoman fleet led by Khair ad-dīn Barbarossa and a flotilla of half a dozen French ships set sail from the coast of Provence for Constantinople. Taking part in Barbarossa's last campaign were the highest-ranking officers of the Turkish and Barbaresque army, and this included, among the French agents and the Italian refugees, the Hospitaller Philippe Giraut, the Roman nobleman Cesare Frangipani, the Count of Marano Francesco Beltramo Secchia of Udine, the British physician Alban Hill, and Leone and Scipione Strozzi.[15]

The French *italianisant* Jerôme Maurand also participated in the journey as a galley chaplain, and he drafted an account of it in Italian in which he recorded d'Aramon's presence. We know from Maurand's account that d'Aramon visited Savona, and that after some forays in Maremma he headed for Rome with the Florentine refugee Baccio Martelli (1511–64) to offer Talamone and Porto Ercole to Paul III in return for papal support for France. The talks fell through, and after the Peace of Crepy between France and the Habsburg government (September 1544) d'Aramon returned east and stayed "in Pera as lieutenant of the ambassador" with three servants. One of these was "the Count of Marrano [who was still in Istanbul in the fall of 1545]," while another was the "Roman gentleman called Signor Cesaro Friapani." Here d'Aramon was submitted to the consequences of the new truce between France and the Habsburg regime, and risked death by impalement. The publisher of the *Alcorano* seemed to be well informed of d'Aramon's career in the early 1540s, recalling his qualities as negotiator in these circumstances: "And to mention only one detail worthy of note and of eternal memory, who could

ever have come out so victorious from a situation of grave and extreme danger such as the one that followed the sudden agreement between the King [Francis I] and the Caesar [Charles V], while Your Highness was ambassador in Turkish territory? Where thanks to your great virtue and prudence, not only did you manage to avoid the offense and injury that would necessarily have befallen you, but you even managed to placate the new sentiment of disdain for that same cause, present in the soul of that Prince [Sultan Süleyman], and before all our Christianity."[16] D'Aramon seemed permanently to be in Istanbul, at least until the summer of 1546. With him was another agent who had been working in the Ottoman Empire for both France and the duchy of Ferrara in the late 1530s and early 1540s: Vincenzo Maggi of Brescia, who acted as the "lieutentant of the ambassador during the ambassador's absence [Escalin des Aimars]" and was very close to Pier Paolo Vergerio, Antonio Rincón, Guillaume Pellicier, Lucio Paolo Rosello, and his fellow citizens Girolamo and Cornelio Donzellino. Some years later, in 1547, we find D'Aramon looking for a patron between Venice and Ferrara.[17]

Between August and September 1545, Jean de Montluc, the French ambassador in Venice, also arrived in Istanbul. Giovanni Buzio, who was burned in 1553 in Campo de' Fiori in Rome for being a relapsed heretic, accused Montluc of being a Sacramentarian. During his trial, in fact, Buzio attested "to having heard come out of his mouth an impious and evil idea of that so profoundly sacred Sacrament." In January 1546, Pietro Aretino recalled that Jean de Montluc had "traveled to and returned from Constantinople" to collaborate with the Habsburg ambassador Gerhard de Veltwyck (1505–55) in negotiations for a joint truce with the Ottoman Empire. Montluc came to loggerheads with the diplomatic society in Istanbul: with the *bailo* Alessandro Contarini, but especially with his colleague Gabriel d'Aramon. This rivalry and dissent caused d'Aramon to become isolated, as de Veltwyck would later recall in November 1545: "Montluc prevented Aramon from receiving letters or important notices at court, and this is why these men were so angry . . . and it is clear to see that there are no intelligent people in the court of France, because the struggle between the two agents influences French foreign policy."[18]

A LETTER BY ZSIGMOND GYALUI TORDA (CHRISTMAS 1545)

The lives of diplomatic agents in the middle of the sixteenth century were described by Aurelio Cicuta, who escaped from a prison in Corsica with the help of a Turkish reis (naval captain) and declared that he had sailed, disguised as a Turk, on Barbarossa's galleys. In this milieu, political-religious aspirations, national motives, and private opportunism all blended together, as agents, mediators, renegades, and friars circulated, crossing the boundaries of confessions and empires. According to Cicuta, these were men who "could adapt to times and places, simulate, pretend, disguise themselves, change their

names, clothing and ways; use thousands of inventions and stratagems, carry out thousands of metamorphoses and mutations, and become Proteuses and Vertumni." Among these chameleon-like and changeable agents, who called into question the categories of nations, identities, and confessions, there were also "many famous ecclesiastic and lay people, prelates and other lords, some of whom, although ecclesiastic, wore clothing to disguise themselves and traveled all across Germany to understand the political plots that were going on in that land, and some of them even negotiated with the infidels."[19]

What is of interest here is the movement of people, books, and ideas between France, Venice, and Istanbul encouraged by the Franco-Ottoman alliance and the collaboration between French diplomats, anti-Medicean refugees, and Italian religious nonconformists who sympathized with the Schmalkaldic League. Lorenzino de' Medici, for instance, had moved along the same lines between 1537 and 1538, in the days of Jean de la Forêt's embassy. Lorenzino de' Medici had spent time and negotiated in Istanbul for the French court, while in Italy he was protected by the pro-French Strozzi network at least until 1547–48. On closer inspection, it seems that the French Embassy in Istanbul was often used as a political refuge, but also as an outpost for the diffusion of Protestantism in the eastern Mediterranean. Evidence of this can be seen in a letter written on Christmas Day 1545 by the Transylvanian Lutheran humanist Zsigmond Gyalui Torda (c. 1510–69) to his friend Philip Melanchton: "In Turkey itself many people proclaim Christ. There were Franciscus Picus [from Mirandola] and the Hungarian Zegedinus [Stephen Kis of Szeged, 1505–72]. The latter teaches a large audience, both in Galata and in Constantinople. He is taken care of by the French ambassador and by other Christians who work and trade here." Did d'Aramon play an active role in all of this? Did he support the propaganda by Lutheran Hungarian preachers, such as Stephen Kis, and those from Mirandola in the Levant? Or was "the French ambassador" that Torda was referring to the second ambassador and alleged Sacramentarian Jean de Montluc? As we already know, in 1545 de Montluc stayed in Istanbul only briefly. He arrived in the city between late August and early September, after a long journey during which he fell ill in Ragusa and came "close to dying," to then return to Italy between the following months of November and January. In this context, what did Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon "wish for"? Was he just a brilliant military captain, "both on land and at sea," according to the words written by the papal nuncio in Venice in May 1547 and in Arrivabene's dedicatory letter? Or did he share the religious beliefs of his protégés, as did his secretary Jean Chesneau? Again, courtesy of the papal nuncio in Venice, we know that de Montluc and d'Aramon were living under the same roof: that "Signor Gherardo [de Veltwyck] is staying in Constantinople and Montluc in Pera, where the other French ambassador is also living." With these questions in mind, let us reread Arrivabene's dedication more closely, and ponder another meaningful passage.[20]

In Arrivabene's dedicatory letter we can surmise an interest,

unquestionably on the publisher's part, and perhaps also on the dedicatee's, in the heated debate on justification that took place in the 1540s just a few weeks before the Council of Trent's decree on this topic (January 1547). Indeed, Arrivabene's two versions of the dedicatory letter show significant variants regarding the problem of the salvation of the soul. The first cancellanda version reads: "This clearly shows how our Church has always been persecuted and afflicted, and for this reason we can understand how the Church depends solely on the rule of divine grace and is neither upheld by nor is able to thrive on the decisions and actions of men. In the same way it teaches us that to achieve power, prosperity, fame and the consent of the masses, we must never move away from the word of God, which we have received from the highest authority as a safe and secure fundament."[21] The cancellans version instead reads as follows: "This specifically shows how our Church has always been persecuted and afflicted, and for this reason we can understand how the Church depends solely on the rule of divine grace and is neither upheld by nor is able to thrive on the decisions and actions of men. In the same way it teaches us that to achieve power, success, prosperity, fame, and the consent of the masses, we must never move away, not even by a short distance, from the *pure* word of God *and from His most Holy Gospel*, nor from ourselves as we have received it with certain authority from the safe and secure *fundament of our own true salvation*" (italics added).[22] The church is upheld by grace alone in both versions of the dedicatory letter. But in the second version, the word of God is "pure," and next to it is "the most Holy Gospel," the very foundation now "of our own true salvation." The whole passage carries meaning. There is no reference to the works or to free will. In fact, it states the opposite. Emphasis is placed on the value of "grace" with respect to the "providence of human advice." And also emphasized in the second version is the central role played by the "pure" Scripture in man's "true" salvation.

I should recall now that d'Aramon passed through Venice in February 1547, that is, a few weeks after the January 1547 Council of Trent Decree on Justification. The decree put an end to debate that had been under way during the 1540s among the various currents of Italian Evangelism. In short, d'Aramon arrived in Venice at the very same time that the Council of Trent was expressing itself as concerns man's salvation against solifidianism, but also against the boundless optimism of the soteriology of the *Beneficio di Cristo*. Andrea Arrivabene knew the Decree on Justification well: he even printed the text of the decree in 1547. And there is absolutely no doubt that Arrivabene had a deep-seated, editorial, and religious interest in the "pure word of God." He had a close relationship with Orazio Brunetto, as well as with Girolamo and Cornelio Donzellino. In January 1540 he informed Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga—to whom, in 1562, he would dedicate an edition of a work by Camillo Campeggi (d. 1569)—as to which Greek editions of the Bible could be purchased in Venice. Later on, in 1549, Arrivabene asked Viano de Viani for information concerning a New Testament he had had his brother Francesco

deliver to him in Viadana.

Furthermore, Arrivabene's passage on salvation echoed the ideas expressed by one of the authors whom Arrivabene contributed to relaunching in the publishing market, and who, thanks to Arrivabene's support, had returned to Venice: his friend and "brother" Lucio Paolo Rosello. In the *Discorso di penintenza* (The Discourse on Repentance) (1549)—a text that Arrivabene sold in his bookstore and for which he was forced to go to court and hand over every unsold copy—Rosello said that "not the law of Moses but the word and the spirit of grace is the beginning, the means and the end of our justification," and that "the law of grace, that is the Gospel, is abundant and enough, which is the law of the spirit of Christ." Arrivabene, in other words, concealed a religious message in the dedicatory letter, which the dedicatee probably agreed with. He actually improved the message and made it clearer in the second version of the letter than it had been in the first version. All this happened in the paratext of a history book that focused on the "description of religions and empires" and during a very critical political juncture filled with great hope for renewal. Those were "very turbulent times," as Arrivabene continued in his letter, echoing Bibliander, "in which religion along with all other Christian things are now in greater travail than they have ever been in all the past centuries."[23]

FIFTEEN DAYS IN VENICE (CARNIVAL 1547)

Let us now go back to late summer and early fall of 1545, and to the letter written by Zsigmond Gyalui Torda to Melanchton. D'Aramon and Jean de Montluc were in Istanbul and the conflict between the two discredited French diplomats, in the eyes of the Ottomans, definitively isolated d'Aramon who, after the departure of the adjunct and with no instructions from France, "was ill-disposed," in the words of Alessandro Contarini. So in the summer of 1546 d'Aramon decided to return to France to learn what Francis I's intentions were concerning the Ottoman Empire. He also wanted to discredit de Montluc before the court and to attempt once more to recuperate his domains in southern France. According to Alessandro Contarini, d'Aramon had been informed of the situation in Germany by a French agent, who had in turn been informed "by a friend from Venice," and he had been "dismissed from this Serraglio" to return to France "as it should help the Lutherans, just as Süleyman was, lest they be subjugated by Emperor Charles V." Contarini added that his "remaining here in these lands is of no benefit for the fate of this Serraglio, as they never receive word from the King, and since Monsieur de Montluc's departure we have not received anything new." D'Aramon's diplomatic isolation was made even worse by the "many debts incurred for the incessant and great expenses here," and because for about eight months he had not received "any provision of money." This is why D'Aramon was forced to "take up this journey and promise to return," according to de Veltwyck. The

journey that would lead to the dedication of the *Alcorano di Macometto* all began in August 1546.[24]

D'Aramon's stay in France was very short. At last, he was nominated official ambassador to the Ottoman Empire: one of his tasks was to persuade Sultan Süleyman to order the Ottoman fleet to sail to the coast of southern Italy. In January 1547, "la vigile des Roys," said Chesneau (according to Contarini the day after, January 6), secretly set off for Italy, reaching Venice by way of Switzerland and thus avoiding the duchy of Milan. D'Aramon had to arrive at Süleyman's court as swiftly as possible, and in secret. Francis I wanted to sabotage the diplomatic plots of Charles V's ambassadors, who intended to renew the truce with the Ottoman Empire so they could devote themselves to the Schmalkaldic front. Süleyman, on his part, perhaps more concerned about the Persian front than the European-Mediterranean one, called for joint peace with the European powers, thus confirming the 1545 truce.

The new French ambassador to Venice was Jean de Morvillier, bishop of Orléans, who anxiously awaited the arrival of d'Aramon from Switzerland, and feared the interference of Habsburg agents in Lombardy. In January 1547 de Morvillier's agenda, before resuming the diplomatic action for the trial against Pier Paolo Vergerio, was focused on finding a solution to two related problems and concerning two agents already used in the Levant: the fact that Gabriel d'Aramon did not arrive, and an insolent Vincenzo Maggi, who had come looking for money and for whom de Morvillier did his utmost at the French court and in Ferrara. This was also the city where Maggi was to take refuge, if we are to believe the Medicean informer Pietro Gelido: "Vincentio Magio did not want to go to Venice," rather "he stayed in Ferrara to spy on the dealings of these bands" (1548). This was the same Vincenzo Maggi who was portrayed by Aretino, perhaps with a hint of irony, as a shrewd agent, a resolute one when it came to his relations with French diplomats, a friend "down to his guts" of every baron at the French court, but whom neither Pellicier before nor de Morvillier later could really trust. There were many direct links between Arrivabene and Vincenzo Maggi in the winter of 1547. Both men were among the followers of Pier Paolo Vergerio, and they shared a friendship with Lucio Paolo Rosello, Ortensio Lando, and Brescia-born Cornelio and Girolamo Donzellino, the latter the physician who treated Maggi's wife and served as a link in the smuggling of books sent by Pietro Perna and sold by Arrivabene, including the New Testament by Massimo Teofilo, "whose reading," according to Leandro Perini "is attested to by the former Benedictine Vincenzo Maggi." It was, therefore, a rather complex context of cultural and diplomatic intersections, filled with nonconformist religious concerns, but also scientific, medical, and alchemical interests. Girolamo Donzellino supplied Leonardo Fioravanti (c. 1517–c. 1588) with books, just as we find Vincenzo Maggi in 1561 in Basel right next to the physician and alchemist Adam von Bodenstein (1528–77), curator for Pietro

Perna of texts by Paracelsus. In the dedication he wrote for *Liber de duplici anatomia* (The Book on Double Anatomy) (1568) Adam von Dodenstein described Vincenzo Maggi as being "a real gentleman, with a wide experience of the world, Sir Vincenzo Maggi of Brescia, citizen of Basel and our dearest friend."[25]

Perhaps from this milieu of religious nonconformists, political refugees, and agents in the service of France, the publisher succeeded in gathering information on the well-traveled Gabriel d'Aramon: "I hear the fame that resounds everywhere, I heard praise for him coming from the mouths of many, and as though I could actually touch it, I have tangible proof that Your Highness is not lacking in any of those qualities that are suited to a great and honorable man."[26] D'Aramon, albeit late, eventually arrived in Venice on February 9 "wearied by a very long journey and the bad weather along the way," as reported by de Morvillier. The two ambassadors wanted to see the Venetian authorities "by the morrow," but were instead forced to wait, and in the meantime d'Aramon received a visit from two Venetian gentlemen. Even Arrivabene, within the fictional frame of his dedicatory letter, described d'Aramon's unexpected arrival in the lagoon: "Just when I least expected to find a person to whom I could, to the satisfaction of my soul, dedicate this book . . . that was when, to my great fortune, Your Highness appeared in this noblest city, and I immediately thought of you. And setting aside any other decision of mine, I chose you among all those whom I had thought of, who for some reason seemed to befit it [the dedicatory letter]."[27] D'Aramon had to wait two days after his arrival to present the letters with his credentials to the Venetian authorities and, given the terrible weather conditions, he requested a galley for his passage to Ragusa. The Venetians were accommodating, and offered three galleys instead, as confirmed by the secretary to the Habsburg embassy, Fernando Montesa: "three galleys of convicts last year and headed for Candia." The Venetian Senate recorded d'Aramon's visit as well, and informed both Alessandro Contarini in Constantinople and his counterpart in France, the ambassador Francesco Giustinian. The Venetian Senate granted d'Aramon "safe passage as far as Ragusa," providing "for him to be accompanied at no expense as had been the case for other ambassadors of His Majesty." On February 19, Cristoforo Canal, governor of the galleys of convicts, was hired to "allow the aforementioned ambassador to leave along with his family and all his belongings, and take him as far as Ragusa, with no expense for him or his family, comprising some sixty to seventy people." He was also provided with "two hundred ducats, which he can spend as he wishes without having to report it to anyone."[28]

Francis I and his ambassador in Venice, Jean de Morvillier, were pressing to make d'Aramon's stay in Venice as short as possible. The news coming in from Germany was in favor of Charles V, and the turmoil in Genoa might have become an excuse for a Habsburg intervention. But the sea was rough and "the captains of the galleys did not dare sail across the Adriatic." So D'Aramon was

forced to stay in the lagoon and enjoy the carnival. And also, perhaps, the performances by the Turkish acrobats, which in 1547 were all the rage in Venice as well as in the Florentine coutryside. Jean Chesneau remarked that "every day we held feasts, masked events, and banquets, and other pastimes, so that we were never bored." D'Aramon was unable to leave until Thursday, February 24, the second day of Lent, as confirmed by Alessandro Contarini and, again, Jean Chesneau. D'Aramon arrived in Ragusa on March 8 according to the aforementioned letter written by Paolo Crivelli. After the "lucky and unusual passage" (Orazio Brunetto) toward Dalmatia, the expedition was divided in two. Crivelli goes on: "In two or perhaps three days we shall leave for Constantinople. The Ambassador has decided, so as to be more comfortable during his journey, to divide the company in two parts as follows: Your Highness will go ahead with twelve or fifteen envoys, leaving with the others all those who follow him." Chesneau tells us that the smaller expedition set off by land: "on the thirteenth day of March" and arrived in Adrianopolis on "the sixth day of April." This information was confirmed by Alessandro Contarini, who added that d'Aramon "arrived here on day 6 of the month, after traveling for 24 days from Ragusa." This was reiterated by Gerhard de Veltwyck, who specified that d'Aramon arrived on Easter Wednesday "with great pomp, but I believe that along the way many Ragusans and Italian gentlemen joined them." In 1547, Easter fell on April 10. This was a feverish and reckless voyage, but for the most part dealt with "with great diligence," Contarini continued, indicating the numerous "impediments" encountered by d'Aramon's "convoy." On April 12 d'Aramon entered Süleyman's court, offering him "and all the bashas" the "noblest of gifts," in the words of the papal nuncio in Venice. These gifts included, de Veltwyck recalled, "a gold fountain set with many gems," which was actually a water clock manufactured in Lyon "whose price was estimated by d'Aramon to be fifteen thousand ducats [twenty-five thousand according to Fernando Montesa]." In addition, there were gemstones, silks, and damasks purchased in Paris and on the streets of Venice. Among these, Chesneau listed "gold and silver drapery, Dutch textiles, velvets, satins, and damasks of many colors and scarlet clothes from Paris, all of which were a wonder to see."[29]

In the weeks spent in Adrianopolis and then in Istanbul d'Aramon did everything he possibly could to interfere with the negotiations between Süleyman and the Habsburg emissaries, the aim being to sabotage the five years of peace stipulated thanks to de Veltwyck's diplomatic skills on July 19, 1547. During negotiations d'Aramon continued to insist on military intervention in Hungary, as Contarini wrote to the Council of Ten: "despite the first negative results we could only try to request anew moving the army and the navy to the detriment of Caesar and the King of the Romans." But d'Aramon's diplomatic insistence did not lead to any results with Süleyman, who turned his back on Europe to instead focus his military attention on the anti-Persian campaigns. Süleyman apologized for "not being able this year to send out the navy nor to move with the army according to the wishes of His

Most Christian Majesty, for his had come here very late to request this." His refusal left d'Aramon, after the court and the European ambassadors were transferred to Istanbul, disillusioned and "sick and in hatred of them," but ever determined to undermine the truce between the Ottoman Empire and Charles V. D'Aramon, as de Morviller wrote in November 1547, would continue to receive "words and promises" from Süleyman. Words, just words and promises and nothing more.[30]

So his mission took place at a critical moment, between the death of Francis I and while Charles V was gaining ground against the Schmalkaldic League: hence, on the very edge of a political precipice in Europe that would shape the religious and political future of the Italian peninsula. In short, having left from Venice the day after Ash Wednesday, d'Aramon arrived at the Ottoman court on Easter Wednesday, after a long Lent spent traveling, by sea and on horseback along the land routes that led from Ragusa to Adrianopolis. In this city, before reaching Istanbul, "he was rather vexed" by the death of Francis I and, albeit continually in contact with de Morvillier in Venice, he was forced to await the coronation of the new king. Henry II, however, sent a second ambassador to Istanbul, Baron François de Fumel, with whom d'Aramon found himself at great odds before Süleyman. Between the two of them, the Venetian *bailo* also recalled, "there is bad intelligence, indeed great discord." Moreover, de Fumel arrived too late with respect to the Ottoman agenda and the peace treaty was thus stipulated. It was a joint truce that foresaw five years of peace, which France was basically forced to take part in.[31]

AN HONORABLE COMPANY OF EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE

Leaving d'Aramon in Constantinople, and his political failures, the campaigns in Anatolia (1548), his trip to Palestine (1549), and the siege of Tripoli on the Barbary Coast (1551), and leaving aside the diplomatic outcome of d'Aramon's mission, let us turn our gaze instead toward the mission itself. To understand the context of Arrivabene's dedicatory letter it is important to clarify who was part of that "worthy and honorable company of extraordinary people." We need to identify "those many men of Ragusa and Italian gentlemen" who traveled alongside the more renowned *compagnons d'Aramon*. We know that d'Aramon stayed in Venice for two weeks, from February 9 to 24, 1547, and in answer to his request for a galley he was given three, so that he could be escorted to Ragusa by Cristoforo Canal with a suite of about seventy people.[32]

This was a lavish and a very expensive mission. On more than one occasion it was taken as an example for French diplomacy during the seventeenth century. But who exactly were the members of d'Aramon's suite? And how many Italians had boarded those galleys? Once again, the enthusiastic letter written by Paolo Crivelli to Orazio Brunetto while in Ragusa comes to our aid. At least a dozen names, some of which are well known, others less so, are listed in Crivelli's text.

Among them, besides Cristoforo Canal, the "Governor of the convicts," was Fedele Fedeli "as secretary." Fedele was the brother of Vincenzo Fedeli, who was to become the major historian of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Also on board was "Messer Fedel Fedele Piccolomini as physician," that is, the physician and philosopher active in Venice in the 1540s. Girolamo Ruscelli portrayed him in the afterword of the book on fortifications by Giovanni Battista Zanchi (1515–86). In this text we saw the physician in the house of Domenico Venier (1517–82), around his sick bed and amid other members of Venier's academic circles: "Messer Fedele Piccolomini Fedeli, one of the physicians treating him, talked about this part of the book of fortifications with such knowledge and good judgement, and above all with such a clear way of examining and putting into practice what he had expressed, that it encouraged me to say that if every captain knew how to philosophize in this same way, and if every philosopher were capable of serving as captains, there would be no reason for the dispute between arms and letters to exist."[33] Besides the Fedelis, Crivelli continued, there were "other very honorable figures, in the presence of whom we spoke about and discussed important issues, which were consolidated in the earthly deeds of the invincible Signor Gabriele d'Aramon and the ones carried out at sea by the valorous Canale." There was "Giaccomo Guoro" as "captain of a galley," probably the same captain already active during the Battle of Preveza (1538), and who "in terms of courtesy and kindness I wouldn't know who to compare him to if not to himself as he is the Magnificence itself." Also among them was "the highly esteemed Messere Dionigi Cappuccio," a physican and pharmacist from Città di Castello to whom Crivelli felt "so devoted owing to his marvelous virtues, and even if I dedicated my entire life to him, I would never be able to pay him back even a small part of the debts I owed him, debts that are endless." With Dionigi was his cousin Gregorio Romagnuolo "head of the soldiers." Further, "Captain Orlando Porcello, among whose virtues, it may be said, is the chronicle of our times, the more real and marvelous than any other, just as are the stories told by him, which embrace the space of forty years, which he took part in and experienced in the first person and that he tells with admirable ease and endless memory."[34] This was the same "porcello," that is to say, the "little pig," that Ortensio Lando, in his *Commentario* (1545), ironically mentioned as being a guest in the house of the Venetian Marcantonio da Mula in Brescia, later cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church: "There was only one thing I saw in him that displeased me and molested me in that honorable room, he very much loved a *porcello*, and had eyes only for him; he would gaze at him in admiration and allow him to sit at his table."[35]

In short, there were "notable men of different professions." Among the captains there was also "Bartholomeo Giordan da Pesaro, an exceptional man who so easily combines the ferocity of arms with the pleasure of customs, to the extent that it is hard to see which of the two prevails in him." Bartholomeo was the nephew of Pesaro-born Giangiacomo Leonardi, Count of Monte

l'Abate and ambassador for the dukes of Urbino to Venice (c. 1498–1572). In October 1547 the former was bankrolled by the French and the Strozzi family, while the latter aspired to be a client of Henry II. At least this is what can be gleaned from Jean de Morvillier's recommendation of the ambassador of Urbino to the constable of France Anne de Montmorency (1492–1567): "after the arrival of his nephew, Captain Bartolomeo, he confessed to me that he was very happy to have learned from Bartolomeo himself that he [the count] was esteemed by the King [Henry II]." In fact, no other Italian ambassador knew the Venetians' secrets better than the Count of Monte l'Abate, a rather useful agent to the French Crown both in times of war and of peace. We also know that Bartolomeo Giordano continued to work as a French agent in Venice and in the Levant. For instance, he delivered a letter written by Lorenzino de' Medici to Roberto Strozzi (September 1547): "you will receive news from the Levant through Captain Bartolomeo da Pesero, who will be the messenger." It seems that soon afterward he was still active in the Levant based on what is stated by the Medicean informer in France, Pietro Gelido (October 1547): "a few days ago they sent a certain Captain Bartolomeo, who I believe comes from the State of Urbino, to the Turk[;] not many months have gone by since he arrived . . . as concerns issues pertinent to this King." We find him in the winter of 1548 still at the service of d'Aramon who, from Aleppo, sent letters written by the sultan to Henry II "via a certain Captain Bartolamio da Pesaro."[36]

Also on board d'Aramon's galleys were "Alessandro Soperchio" and a few young scions of the Venetian aristocracy, such as Girolamo Soriano, Gasparo Veniero, and Giacomo Calbo, "all three of them young, but intellectually mature, who promise in time to become three stars of the excellent and invincible Republic of Venice." Some of the men on board were from Ferrara, including "Francesco Ariosto" and perhaps two members of the Giglioli family: "the *cavallierro* Gigliolo and *messer* Annibale his brother," who were "the perfect example of civility and have the attitudes of kings and knights, and the third companion was Messer Giovan Battista delle Anguille, an excellent musician." That gentlemen from Ferrara were part of a French mission should come as no surprise. The dispatches of the Habsburg embassy in Venice reveal that shortly before, a certain "Giliol from Ferrara, a gentleman of the Cardinal in Ferrara [Ippolito d'Este, 1509–72]" had arrived in Venice from across the Alps. He came from the French court "with dispatches for the East" concerning "negotiations for the truce," which is why he wanted to "quickly depart with the Chaus," that is, with the *çavuş*, a messenger of the sultan, spreading the rumor that he "was going to buy some horses." The dispatch also said that having had some difficulty leaving "Giliol wanted to travel via Ragusa." Perhaps this Ferrarese agent was one of the Gigliolis who, on February 24, were to set sail for Ragusa along with Paolo Crivelli and Gabriel d'Aramon.[37]

One last name was listed among the "many others": Leonardo Pomaro, whom we could identify as the brother of Pietro Pomaro, a French agent in

Venice, Ragusa, and the East, very close to Vincenzo Maggi and, from September 15, 1539, French consul in Alexandria in Egypt. We know for certain that Pietro Pomaro was the son of Leonardo Pomaro, a Jew of Iberian origin and a physician in Lyon, a friend of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and Christophe de Longueil, who circulated in the Venetian and Roman erudite circles of the 1520s.

At the time of d'Aramon's embassy, Pietro was living in Venice and, just like Vincenzo Maggi, took advantage of the financial assistance of the French Crown, courtesy of Jean de Morvillier's intercession. The ambassador requested help for "Pietro Pomaro, native of Lyon," an agent who continued to efficiently carry out his services for the French king, as attested to by other French officiers, especially "those who are currently serving the Levant." Pietro was still active in Venice in the early 1550s and in close contact with Martin Gerstmann, Bernardin Bochetel, cousin of French ambassador de Morvillier, and with Bochetel's preceptor, the Scotch humanist Henry Scrimgeour (c. 1505–72). Scrimgeour, like the Transylvanian Torda, had intervened in regard to the tragic abjuration of Francesco Spiera (1548). Pietro Pomaro followed the acquisition of Greek manuscripts for Ulrich Függer, in Italy and in Istanbul, where he could take advantage of his brother Leonardo Pomaro's support. Leonardo Pomaro, who had left with d'Aramon in 1547, can more likely be identified as Leonardo Pomaro Junior, brother of Pietro, a wealthy merchant in Constantinople in the 1550s, than as Leonardo Senior, their father, who was active in the previous generation during the 1520s. And I wonder whether Leonardo Junior, and therefore not his father, was the same Leonardo Pomaro whom Friedrich Samuel Bock (1716–85) ran up against in his research on the members of the *Collegia vicentina*: "Inquirenti mihi arcanam Collegiorum Vicentinorum historiam, alius innotuit *Leonardus*, *cognomine Pomarus*, *Hispanus*, qui fortassis inter Serveti Hispani amicos, vel patronos referendus, quod tamen accuratiori examine indiger." This testimony forces us to conduct further research in this context if we consider the friendship between Paolo Crivelli and Lelio Sozzini, attested to by Ludovico Dolce, and the flights of the Italian Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians in the Levant, and, hence the diffusion of the text of the Qu'ran among them.[38]

Leaving Crivelli's testimony aside, we can identify other members of d'Aramon's embassy. We know, for instance, that the young *italianisant* François Perrot (1530–1612) also took part. He would later be very active in the diffusion of Calvinism in the Levant through the Italian language. He would, in fact, translate into Italian the treatise *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne* by Philippe Mornay du Plessis (1549–1623). The original French text is dated from 1583, while the Italian edition was published in 1612. In the dedicatory letter to Henry III, Perrot affirmed the importance of translating the work into Italian in order to reach the multiethnic and multilingual subjects of the Ottoman Empire: "He cannot, all the more reason, in my opinion, after what your France achieved, make known that the Italian people, that perhaps need it

more than any other, not just thanks to their commerce but rather through their language, which is spoken by both Jews and Turks alike, will expand further, outside Italy's borders as far as the Levant, thereby obtaining such benefit that your France will also be thanked."[39] The European interest in the Italian language was not just a playful and erudite pose but a tangle of aesthetic, political, diplomatic, and religious instances. In addition to a translation of the Psalms and some poetic works, Perrot is attributed with having written in Italian works of anti–Roman Catholic religious polemic, addressed to a European public. One such work is *L'Aviso piacevole* (The Enjoyable Newsletter) (1586), which was then refuted by Cardinal Bellarmino. Another work was the multilingual *Catechismo dottrinale o confession de fede spagnola* (The Doctrinal Catechism or the Confession of the Spanish Faith) that he published in 1594. Perrot grew up in this diplomatic milieu, between France, Italy, and Istanbul: he was trained during d'Aramon's expedition, and he returned to the Levant, following his cousin Philippe du Fresne Canaye (1551–1610), who fled to Istanbul after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) and wrote his travelogue in Italian. We should therefore not be surprised that Perrot, "whose works Italians considered to be written by an Italian," wanted to spread Calvinism using the Italian language "outside of Italy and even as far as the Levant."[40]

Moreover, d'Aramon reveals that in May 1547 the Austrian count Christoph von Roggendorf (1510–post 1585) was helping him during negiotiations. Roggendorf, in fact, after an argument with his wife, Elisabeth d'Oetting, concerning the fact that Charles V supported her instead of him so that she ended up receiving the majority of his property, offered his money and services to Sultan Süleyman. In the early 1550s, Roggendorf was imprisoned in Istanbul, but was freed by d'Aramon himself, to whom Roggendorf granted the marquisate of the Hyères Islands, opposite Marseille, just a few months before d'Aramon's death (ante 1555). To understand Arrivabene's dedicatory letter, we should recall that the secretary of Roggendorf in Istanbul was the Ragusa-born Marin Držić, alias Marino Darsa (1508–67). Andrea Arrivabene published his *Tirena comedia* in 1547, the same year as the *Alcorano di Macometto*, opening up his business to the book market in Dalmatia.[41]

Beyond all these names, we should keep in mind the political context in which the dedicatory letter was written. Among Arrivabene's and d'Aramon's friends there were many pro-French and pro-English Italian agents, nonconformist Italian intellectuals, and anti-Medicean refugees, who symphatized with the Shmalkaldic League and were moving between Venice and the Ottoman Empire supported by the French embassies in both the lagoon and Istanbul. If we are to believe Torda's letter, the French Embassy in Istanbul also served as an outpost for the diffusion of Lutheranism and Calvinism in the Levant, and as a bridgehead for the European refugees in the Ottoman Empire. In a letter he wrote from Pera on February 20, 1548, the Florentine ambassador in Istanbul affirmed that "Your Highness's [Cosimo I's], political opponents

arrived here, and in 1537 Lorenzo de' Medici also arrived here." Also, in 1552, the anti-Habsburg prince of Salerno Ferrante Sanseverino arrived as a political refugee in Istanbul, thanks to d'Aramon's intercession, and asked Süleyman for military intervention in Italy. The pro-Habsburg historian Giovanni Alvise of Parma, in a pamphlet published after 1532, affirmed that Süleyman tended toward declaring war on the Habsburgs "especially owing to the evil persuasions of certain unjust Christian princes from different territories in the Kingdoms of Naples, Florence, and other nations, and even more so to merchants who live in Constantinope pretending to be Christians, people who have no faith or religion as is evident from their actions."[42] As we shall examine more closely in Chapter 7, in the introduction of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, behind a very refined exercise in oratory, Sultan Süleyman is described as the "safe harbor" and "the perfect asylum," as well as the "refuge for all the people oppressed in the world," especially by the Christian princes of Europe.

These were turbulent times after all. The Tridentine Decree about justification, the Battle of Mülberg, and the institution of new authorities to control the spread of nonconformist religiosity in Venice (*Tre Savi sopra l'Eresia*) definitively marked the destiny of many of the people involved in this story. Inquisitorial trials multiplied after 1547, the pro-Schmalkaldic agent Ludovico Dall'Armi died in May 1547, and Lorenzino de' Medici was killed in February 1548. Vincenzo Maggi fled to Switzerland, and many of Arrivabene's pupils (Domenichi, Rosello, etc.) sought a new patron in Cosimo I de' Medici. Diego de Enzinas was executed in Rome in March 1547, and his brother Francisco was seriously thinking of fleeing toward the Ottoman Empire, but reached England instead. Both brothers were very close to Guido Giannetti da Fano, who worked for the English Embassy and who we know had an exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. After all, Giannetti's colleague Baldassarre Altieri wrote to Francisco de Enzinas in June 1547 warning him that the Italian scene was turbulent, and it was rather difficult to understand what was going on in the peninsula: "Things in Italy are very unclear and nobody can tell what is going to happen." Giovanni Battista Castrodardo seems to have had the same insight. He quit Venice immediately after the publication of the *Alcorano di Macometto* to return in his hometown of Belluno in 1548.[43]

DEDICATING A COMPANION TO ISLAM

From this analysis, we can definitively say that the dedication of a handy but exhaustive companion to Islam and the Ottoman Empire, between the winter and spring of 1547, to a French ambassador headed for the Levant is hardly surprising. Furthermore, it is not at all "strange that Arrivabene turned to the man who was negotiating an alliance between France and the Turk to affirm the usefulness of his edition," as Carlo De Frede put it.[44] This updated companion of Islamic history received ideological and commercial benefit

from the patronage of one who was believed to be a key figure in the new French policy in the Mediterranean, which, if not in political terms, at least in scientific and cultural ones, would prove to be decisive.

Whereas de Veltwyck achieved his diplomatic goals, d'Aramon's embassy rather would become a model for the following European scientific and erudite expeditions in the East. The two diplomatic adversaries in Istanbul represent diverse and intersecting currents of European Orientalism, which occasionally overlap in the *Alcorano di Macometto* as well. D'Aramon was the great patron of French travelers in the Levant. De Veltwyck, a Dutch convert from Judaism, was an erudite Orientalist: he wrote polemically about the Kabbalah and circulated in the court of Rome in the 1520s. De Veltwyck's embassy produced little more than the Latin poem by Hugo Favolius (1523–85), the *Hodaeporici Byzantini libri tres* (The Three Travel Books to Byzanthium) of 1563. Conversely, d'Aramon patronized many intellectuals and travelers, whose texts would profoundly and enduringly influence the European perception of Islam and the Ottoman Empire. Culturally speaking, his embassy was, as correctly defined by Alastair Hamilton, "the most fruitful mission" of the sixteenth century, whose first harvest, a Venetian one, was the *Alcorano di Macometto*.[45]

It would be a mistake to discern a contradiction, something odd between a dedication to a work that contains a polemical anti-Islamic apparatus and a diplomatic mission in search of military allies. Diplomacy and historiography are inextricably intertwined in early modern Europe. We cannot overlook the apologue, recalled by Girolamo Ruscelli, according to whom d'Aramon himself and his predecessor, Escalin des Aimars, donated to Paolo Giovio "that golden pen" with which he would write his book of history.[46] And so it was Guillaume Gaulberon de Cenquoins, Jean de Montluc's secretary, who translated Giovio's *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* into French. And it was Domingo de Gaztelu, the secretary to the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Lope de Soria, who translated into Italian the polemical work against Islam by the former Muslim Juan Andrés.

The so-called Turcica (texts on the Turks) are flexible, they are ideologically adaptable to many diplomatic circumstances, and they can be used and reused for more than one dedicatee. They can be transformed from appeals for the crusade to informative reports aimed at new peace missions or, preferably, at military alliances. Or the opposite: created in a moment of peace they are easily adapted to a framework of anti-Ottoman propaganda. One example is the Italian translation by the *italianisant* François Flory, published in Antwerp in 1577, of the Turkish *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia* (The Navigations and Travels to Turkey) by Nicolas de Nicolay (1553), a work that was highly successful, especially thanks to its magnificent and still well known xylographies. It was composed within d'Aramon's pro-Ottoman embassy—but now dedicated to John of Austria (1547–78), victor of the Battle of Lepanto and from 1576 governor and captain general of Flanders. Times had changed, and

the *Corpus aramontin* also shed its skin. In 1547 Francis I, Henry VIII, Pietro Bembo, Vittoria Colonna, and Jacopo Sadoleto died, "so that that very year seemed to be endeavoring to extinguish the fine intellects of Rome," Ludovico Beccadelli remarked. But it was also the time of the birth of the future protagonists of Lepanto, among them John of Austria (1547–78) and Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616).[47]

The Turcica were needed to be able to familiarize European readers with the Ottomans, often and clearly perceived as being superior, as well as with a dreaded but necessary military ally. They provided a bookish sort of knowledge that recalls Edward Said's "textual attitude." These texts belonged to a variety of genres. They were written in and translated into many languages, for a vast European and often Italian-speaking public of readers. Often, they circulated within the same book market and intellectual circles, alongside the erudite works of the proto-Arabists and Orientalists. The Turcica constituted an open network of texts, which channeled opposing political views, even if now they seem to have had the unitary rhetorical purpose of serially reproducing, in order to exorcise it, the European fear of the Ottoman Empire.

Within the broad European market of Turcica, the *Alcorano di Macometto* should be described as the Islamic and Ottoman book in Arrivabene's short list of books of history in Italian. It was a book that had been conceived as a very readable encyclopedia, a pocket handbook, a short yet exhaustive companion to Islam, Islamic history, and the contemporary Ottoman Empire. It was a vade mecum that was well organized and smoothly written, useful "in any event, whether in peace or war, that might arise." Arrivabene supplied the book, in the same way that Venice made available its galleys, to the most important ambassador of France in the Mediterranean. Under his protection it seemed possible to print a translation of the Qur'an, a "book directly opposed to the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord." Morevoer, the *Alcorano di Macometto* was a companion that, on the surface, fulfilled the need for historical information, literary pleasure, and religious controversy. But in a more veiled and hidden way, it was a text that satisfied new religious curiosities, both irenical and radical (religious tolerance, anti-Trinitarianism, salvation outside the church, aniconism, the political use of religion, etc.). It was also a text that concealed political messages and a portrait of the Prophet Muhammad, at first seemingly in contradiction of its apparatus of polemical glosses, but upon closer examination simply mixed up, above and between the lines, for a broad public of Italian-speaking readers of different cultural, political, and religious backgrounds.[48]

In other words, the dedication to d'Aramon is unsurprising. D'Aramon's stay in Venice in February 1547 coincides, in fact, with the brief overlap of many religious and political aspirations. It seems to bring together, at least for a moment, two ideal conceptions of Venice, as the gate of the Reformation into Italy, as well as the port to flow to for seeking asylum in the Ottoman Empire.

Perhaps precisely because of this, and because of its flourishing book market, Venice was still a city capable of printing, but not for much longer, a companion to Islam that included the text of the Qur'an in Italian. Books in Italian were flooding the market, and Italian was increasingly being used for religious propaganda both in Italy and in the Levant, as well as by European diplomats and merchants in the Mediterranean.

Andrea Arrivabene, therefore, did not choose an Arabist for his new companion to Islam, but a translator of history books: Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno. His literary career has all the intrigue of the adventures of a minor figure who brushed up against the fate of the great men of the day. As we shall see, after translating the *Alcorano di Macometto*, Castrodardo put an end to his intellectual aspirations, choosing a life of silence instead. Let us now explore who Giovanni Battista Castrodardo really was, how he lived, whether and what exactly he "wished for," and why he chose to "keep his silence."

CHAPTER 4

"And He Translated the *Alcorano* in the Vulgar Tongue"

Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, Translator of the Alcorano di Macometto

ATTRIBUTIONS: ANDREA ARRIVABENE AND THE OTHERS

Andrea Arrivabene did not choose an Arabist, but rather a young translator of history books for his new companion to Islam: Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno (c. 1517–c. 1588). Castrodardo was a brilliant translator and editor of texts who enjoyed a short yet intensive literary career (1543–48). Although not a great deal is known about Castrodardo, we do know that he encountered some of the great sixteenth-century Venetian intellectuals, and that he did not succeed in becoming a famous writer in his own time. This may have happened for a number of reasons: the brevity of his career, the anonymity behind which the publisher concealed the authorship of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, and, most importantly, the forty-year-long exile that Castrodardo imposed on himself after returning from Venice to Belluno (1548–88). This chapter reconstructs Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's identity, which has until now remained in the shadows of the local history of the city of Belluno.

Over the years, several unsatisfactory attempts have been made to attribute the translation of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. The most widespread and hastiest attribution was to Andrea Arrivabene. As emphasized by those who discredit Arrivabene's authorship, Andrea Arrivabene only signed the dedicatory letter to Gabriel d'Aramon. In that text, following the letter written by Peter the Venerable to Bernard of Clairvaux ("de translatione sua qua fecit transferri ex arabico in latinum") and with an editorial formula that was common among his fellow publishers in Venice, Arrivabene stated that he had had the text of the Qur'an translated from the Arabic into Italian, and had not actually translated it himself: "For the benefit of many, I had this particular text translated from the Arabic to the Italian. . . . The text in question, Your Highness, is the *Alcorano di Macometto*, which as I said previously, I had translated from the original language and published."[1]

Nonetheless, an analysis of Arrivabene's preliminary texts shows that he used the same formula in another edition that instead lists him as the translator of the work. In the early 1540s Comin da Trino printed two emissions of *Le vite, I costume, e fatti degli Imperatori romani* (1543 and 1544), the first of which read as follows on the title page: "Newly translated from the Latin to the Italian language by A. Arrivabene." However, in his dedicatory letter to Nicola Cornaro, Andrea wrote that he had had the work translated: "I had it translated from Latin to Italian for the benefit of all." This would lead us to assume that there was a sort of reticence on the part of a publisher who was active at several levels in the Venetian book market, and it could persuade us that Arrivabene may also have translated the *Alcorano di Macometto*. This argument is not sufficiently convincing to preclude further investigation of the author of the *Alcorano*. Some other names have been advanced so far. Carlo Alfonso Nallino, for instance, suggested someone named Giovanni Arrivabene, perhaps mistaking Andrea for Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene (1515–65), or for the more famous Count Giovanni Arrivabene from Mantua (1787–1881).[2]

Several catalogs have attributed the *Alcorano* to the Venetian nobleman and historian Andrea Mocenigo (1473–1542), who actually died too soon to have been able to translate Bibliander's encyclopedia printed in 1543. This attribution also stems from a misunderstanding. Arrivabene, as we already know, printed the Italian translation of Mocenigo's *Bellum Cameracense* (1525). In the dedicatory letter to Mocenigo's sons, Girolamo and Giovanni Battista, Arrivabene went back to using the standard formula that emphasized he did not personally translate the text: "I had had translated some of the finest and most laudable stories from the Latin to the Italian." However, the translation of the *Bellum Cameracense* has been varyingly attributed to Andrea Arrivabene and to Andrea Mocenigo himself. The latter attribution was challenged long ago by Marco Foscarini (1696–1763): "Of one thing we can be certain: that the author [i.e., Andrea Mocenigo] did not translate it into Italian, and that it was Arrivabene who had it translated, since he addresses, in the dedicatory letter present in the 1544 edition, Girolamo and Giovambattista Mocenighi, the historian's sons."[3]

The confusion between Andrea Mocenigo and Andrea Arrivabene concerning the translation of the *Bellum Cameracense* later spread to other discussions regarding attribution, transforming the name "Andrea Arrivabene" into a mere pseudonym for "Andrea Mocenigo." This mistake, highlighted by Nerida Newbigin in 1990, was essentially diffused by the online National Union Catalog: "Arrivabene, Andrea, pseudonym, see Mocenigo, Andrea, fl. 1525." Indeed, if we scroll down further to "Mocenigo Andrea," we find a series of incorrect attributions: *L'Alcorano*, *L'Amor costante* [of which Mocenigo is indicated as the publisher, instead of Arrivabene] and *La guerra di Cambrai*, "translated from the Latin by the author under the pseudonym Andrea Arrivabene." The confusion between Andrea Arrivabene and Andrea Mocenigo has also created a rather singular mutated form. The online catalog of the

Bibliothèque Nationale de France reads "Arrivabene, Andrea (pseud. de Andrea Morenzo). Traducteur." Until now, whether by the real names or as the result of a misreading, the following translators have been suggested: Andrea Arrivabene, Giovanni Arrivabene, Andrea Mocenigo, and the mutant Andrea Morenzo.[4]

Some older bibliographic repertoires contain more surprises. In the *Biblioteca de' volgarizzatori* (The Library of Translators), published posthumously in 1767, Filippo Argelati (1685–1755) offers yet another name: that of the Dominican friar Antonio Neyrot of Rivoli (c. 1428–60), beatified by Clement XIII in 1767. Argelati saw an exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto* at the "well-stocked library" of the Jesuit Brera College in Milan, immediately before the dissolution of the order (1773) and the opening to the public of the Braidense Library (1786). Argelati denied the attribution of the work—"whose translator is unknown"—to Arrivabene, because "Andrea Arrivabene is the printer, not the translator." Based on *De viris illustribus* (On Illustrious Men) by Leandro Alberti (1479–1552) and later Dominican historiography, Argelati instead suggested the following: "translated by Brother Antonio Rippoli of the Order of Preachers." Stoned to death in Tunis in 1460, the Dominican friar could not have translated the Latin Qur'an by Robert of Ketton (1143) following Bibliander's own misreading of the Latin text (1543). Hence, although this attribution opens a window on fifteenth-century Italian, and particularly Florentine, Qur'an studies, it should for the time being be set aside.[5]

The name of "Giorgio Filaletto, known as Turca or Turchetto," may be added to this list. It was suggested by Marica Milanesi in 1978 while introducing a modern edition of the *Navigazioni e viaggi* by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557). This attribution is based, as Milanesi has informed me personally, on her reading of *The Cheese and the Worms* by Carlo Ginzburg. However, Ginzburg does not refer to Giorgio Filaletto as the translator of the *Alcorano*, but as the person who had brought to Italy the "lost translation" of the *De Trinitatis erroribus* (On the Errors of the Trinity) by Michael Servetus, and as "the author of that legendary Italian translation of the *De Trinitatis erroribus* by Servetus," reserving for the *Alcorano* only a generic indication as concerns the translator: "the Qur'an, which had been translated into Italian in the mid-sixteenth century." In this case as well, the attribution seems to be incorrect, although it is an intriguing one: especially if we consider that Silvana Seidel Menchi identified Filaletto with Ortensio Lando, who, after collaborating with Arrivabene on the publication of the *Paradossi* in 1544–45, mysteriously disappeared from Venice between 1545 and 1547, precisely the years when the *Alcorano di Macometto* was being written.[6]

I am aware of no other hypotheses regarding attribution of the translation of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.

To track down Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, I examined the text closely for clues, something personal left by the translator that would scratch the surface of anonymity imposed by the publisher. A marginal note to a passage in the twelfth chapter of the first book provided the first hint of a trail that was possible for me to follow.

The historical section of the *Alcorano* ends with the dialogue of the *Doctrina Machumet*. As we already know, Castrodardo presented the *Doctrina Machumet* in a new form. In the margins of the text he added some of the annotations that Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter published at the end of his edition of the text (1543). However, in at least one case, the translator provided a translation that differed from the original. He personalized one of Widmanstetter's annotations, thus leaving a crucial autobiographical note among the printed marginalia of the book: he left his signature.

A passage of the *Doctrina Machumet* tells of the delights promised to the righteous in paradise. The Jew ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām asks Muhammad what the first food offered to them in paradise will be. He replies that they will be offered "delicious food": that is, the liver of the fish known as Albehut. Zemon Davis had already pointed out that Widmanstetter and the translator of the *Alcorano* provided diverging commentaries on the passage. In both versions we read the report of the erudite debate about the nature of the fish that occurred in the court of Rome in the 1520s. Leaving aside the debate itself, my interest is in the people who were involved. In Widmanstetter's version there are Cardinal Giles of Viterbo (1469–1532) and a *magister Zematus*, almost certainly identifiable with the rabbi Michael ben Shabbetai, the Hebrew instructor of Giles of Viterbo, and Widmanstetter himself. Castrodardo deliberately modified the original text according to a very specific strategy. By replacing the people involved in the anecdote he added an autobiographical note: this is the trace that leads us to the attribution of the work. Appearing in place of Giles of Viterbo is Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542), and behind the mask of *magister Zematus* the better-known Leo Africanus, for whom a short biographic sketch is provided. The reference to Girolamo Aleandro enabled Castrodardo to add the name of the person who told him the story of the fish: "as was referred to me by Messer Pietro Aleandro my uncle." This, then, is the clue. Even with the Latin text before him, the translator of the *Alcorano* preferred a different version of the anecdote: the one that his uncle had recounted to him.[7]

An unknown reader of one of the exemplars of the *Alcorano* held in the British Library noticed the exchange of people. With Widmanstetter's text to hand, he replaced Girolamo Aleandro's name with that of Giles of Viterbo in the margin.[8]

In addition to this anonymous reader, in 1962 François Secret noticed this discrepancy and suggested following this clue in order to find the translator. Secret would again mention the matter two years later, in 1964: "It's strange that the author, who is anonymous, attributed Zematus' anectode not to Giles

of Viterbo, but to Aleandro, also confusing Zematus and Leo Africanus." In 1994 the historian Elena Bonora, in discussing the nature of its marginal notes, stressed the importance of identifying the translator and curator of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. But she did not advance any hypothesis: "Everything points to the question of the curator of this edition, usually indicated as being the printer himself, as there are no other indications that would allow us to attribute the work to others." Bonora also observes that the marginal note highlighted by Secret is the "starting point for an attempt at identifying" the curator. Again based on the same note, Zemon Davis pursues the matter further in her biography of Leo Africanus (2006). In it, albeit incidentally, she tries to identify Pietro Aleandro as being the son of Luigi Aleandro, cousin of Girolamo Aleandro, firmly suggesting that one of Girolamo's nephews was the translator and editor of the *Alcorano*: "Pietro Aleandro was a canon in the church of Aquileia and the son of Girolamo's cousin, Luigi, and did various tasks for Girolamo in Rome. Thus, one of Pietro Aleandro's nephews may be the unknown editor/translator of the edition."[9]

The direction taken by Zemon Davis is essentially correct, but at a certain point she heads down the wrong path. Pietro Aleandro was not the son of Luigi, cousin of Girolamo, who was at least twenty years younger than the Pietro Aleandro we are looking for. The error stems from the fact that Zemon Davis bases her hypothesis on an accurate yet incomplete source: the genealogical tree of the Aleandro family compiled by Girolamo Aleandro the younger and reproduced by Giammaria Mazzuchelli, which only recorded the family's male line and not the lineage of its women. This was instead recorded in another family tree written, it seems, by the Pietro Aleandro we are looking for, and preserved in the Vatican Library manuscript Ottoboni 2419 (626*v*–628*r*). This family tree is much less known for it was never printed.[10]

The Pietro Aleandro mentioned in Castrodardo's marginal note descends from Aleandro's female line, and he can be identified with the humanist Petrus Leander, that is, Pietro Marenio Aleandro (c. 1480–1540) who was second cousin of Girolamo and son of Chiara Aleandro and Cristoforo Marenio, from Mareno di Piave (Treviso); he used his mother's name, which was more prestigious. Castrodardo, thus, is not referring to Luigi Aleandro's but to Chiara Aleandro's son: Pietro Marenio Aleandro, the young humanist and copyist of manuscripts in France recalled as one of the protagonists of early sixteenth-century Rome by Pierio Valeriano of Belluno (1477–1558).[11]

G. B. CASTRODARDO, NEPHEW OF PIETRO MARENIO ALEANDRO

What interests me about Pietro Aleandro is not his humanistic activity but his courtly life under the patronage of the Grimani family. The local historian Giovanni Tomasi provided a brief portrait of Pietro Marenio Aleandro in the books he wrote about the Diocese of Ceneda (now Vittorio Veneto, Treviso). This is the trail that would lead me to Castrodardo.

Tomasi's pages concerning the altar of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ceneda Cathedral list among Pietro Aleandro's heirs his sister Caterina Aleandro and her husband, Alberto Castrodardo of Belluno, that is to say, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's parents. Also, Tomasi reported a brief profile of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, which tells us that "he authored a chronicle of the bishops of Belluno, studied letters and law, wrote a commentary on Dante's *Cantica*, translated the Qur'an and the *De varia historia* by Leonio." These few lines offer us the picture of a lawyer and especially a man of letters: a translator of history books and a historian of Belluno, as well as an editor of and commentator on Dante's *Comedy*. But what was local historian Giovanni Tomasi's source? And more precisely, what was his source concerning the fact that Giovanni Battista Castrodardo translated the Qur'an into Italian? Turning our gaze toward Belluno, where Giovanni Battista was a canon of the cathedral for more than four decades, we find the same information. Ausilio Da Rif, who was the dean of the Belluno chapter until 2015, traced a brief portrait of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo in his historical work on the canons of his own cathedral. He gave us more or less the same information, including the fact that Castrodardo wrote a commentary on Dante and translated the Qur'an. Tomasi's and Da Rif's information depend on a common source, which is easily identified in the *Dizionario storico-artistico-letterario bellunese*, compiled in 1843 by Florio Miari (1785–1848). Miari called attention to the kinship with the Aleandros and, hence, to his own sources: "We shall draw from Piloni the scant information about him that is available."[12]

THE TESTIMONY OF GIORGIO PILONI

Among the "scant information about him that is available," gathered by the nineteenth-century erudite Florio Miari, we should heed the words "drawn from Piloni," which indicate a source close to Castrodardo. Miari is referring to the *Historia della città di Belluno* (History of the City of Belluno) by the late sixteenth-century historian Giorgio Piloni (1539–1611) of Belluno. His municipal history book was printed in Venice by Rampazetto in 1607, but Piloni began to write it while Castrodardo was still alive, it would seem in 1579. Piloni knew Castrodardo. He referred to him several times, and he used fragments from one of Castrodardo's work, the history of the bishops of Belluno, as his source. In fact, the final index of the authors in Piloni's book includes the *Castrodardi Bellunensis fragmenta* (The Fragments by Castrodardo of Belluno). There are several references to Giovanni Battista in the volume. First of all, Castrodardo is mentioned as an oral source, in the part that concerns San Martino Cathedral: "as the priest and canon of Belluno, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, would often say . . . ." And as concerns his kinship with Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro: "the canon of the church in Belluno was Cardinal Leandro, who was succeeded by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo,

a close relative of his." That they were close relatives is recalled elsewhere in the text as well: "Aleandro was famous for his culture: he was a native of Motta, in the area of Treviso, and he was a close relative of the Castrodardos of Belluno, as I have mentioned elsewhere as well." However, it is in the fourth book that we find the small portrait of the canon of Belluno, which says that he vulgarized the Qur'an: "This canon very much enjoyed his knowledge of Belluno's history, and especially of the lives of its bishops, and he wrote a history book about their lives, unfinished due to his death. He had studied literature and law at length, written a commentary on Dante's *Comedy*, translated Nicolò Canonico's *De varia historia*, and also translated the Qur'an into the Italian language. He was related to the very erudite Cardinal Aleandro, and for a certain period of time he lived in Rome at the court of Pope Paul Farnese [Paul III]."[13]

THE TESTAMENT OF PIETRO MARENIO ALEANDRO

Giorgio Piloni seems to have been well informed on the literary activity of Pietro Aleandro's nephew. First, as noted, Piloni knew Castrodardo personally: "Giovanni Battista Castrodardo used to say. . . ." Second, Piloni read and quoted Castrodardo's chronicle: "Castrodardo tells us. . . ." Third, Piloni said that Castrodardo "translated Nicolò Leonico's *de varia historia*." In the Italian translation of *De varia historia libri III* (The Three Books on Various History) by Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (c. 1456–1531), printed by Michele Tramezino in 1544, Castrodardo in fact signed the letter to the readers written "in Padua on September, 18, 1544" as the translator. Fourth, Piloni stated that Castrodardo "wrote a commentary on Dante's *Comedy*"; this is confirmed by Castrodardo's words in the above-mentioned letter to the reader, which he ended by promising to be the editor of Dante's *Comedy* with his own *argomenti*, that is, short introductory comments for each of the cantos. This is also proven by another bio-bibliographical trace that Castrodardo concealed in the paratext of the *Alcorano*. In a marginal note he referred to one of his argomenti on Dante as a piece that had already been written: "which Dante expresses in Canto 28 of the *Inferno* and in our *argomento* on it."[14]

Castrodardo's argomenti must have been written between 1544 and 1547. At this point we need to read the last two pieces of information offered by Piloni: "he translated the Qur'an into the Italian language" and "he was related to the very erudite Cardinal Aleandro," together with the autobiographical clue left by Castrodardo himself in the explanatory note to the *Alcorano*: "my uncle Pietro Aleandro." This autobiographical note can in turn be verified by Pietro Aleandro's signed testament, in which he refers to Giovanni Battista Castrodardo as "my nephew": "J. Bapt(ista) eius filio [that is, son of Caterina Aleandro, Pietro's sister and wife of Alberto Castrodardo], et mihi nepoti."[15]

On the grounds of these clues, we can be confident that Giorgio Piloni was telling the truth about the translator of the *Alcorano*: and that this information

remained buried in his municipal history of Belluno and was narrowly diffused by the local historian and erudite Florio Miari in the nineteenth century. This information, which is unknown to historians of Islamic and Arabic studies in Europe, also seems to have been overlooked or perhaps never before examined by Belluno historians. Perhaps local historians were and are not interested in Castrodardo's literary activity, which was short-lived and took place in the mid-1540s (1543–47), lasted only a few years, and took place mainly outside Belluno and its literary circles.

A FIRST PORTRAIT OF G. B. CASTRODARDO

But who exactly was Giovanni Battista Castrodardo? And why was he chosen by Arrivabene as the translator and editor of the *Alcorano*? Let us try to sketch a first portrait to assist with our reading of the text. Castrodardo was born in Belluno around 1517. His family was new to the city's middle class, descending as it did from the population that came from the country and not from the city of Belluno; once it acquired more status, the family earned some important positions as well, including notaryships. The Castrodardos, natives of Castel d'Ardo on the left bank of the Piave River, in the Diocese of Ceneda, in fact belonged to the "popolari," to the emerging class that, once it had affirmed its economic strength after the War of the League of Cambrai and its return to Venetian jurisdiction, hastened to gain access to the Great Council of the city, which was reserved for members of the nobility until 1547.

Giovanni Battista's great-grandfather Albertino was a tailor; his grandfather Battista was a furrier. His father, Alberto, instead, studied law and became an attorney, a profession that the male members of the family would continue to practice into the nineteenth century. It was Alberto who helped the Castrodardos acquire social prestige through both marriage and career. We know that he married a noblewoman from Motta di Livenza (Treviso), an Aleandro on her mother's side: Caterina Marenio Aleandro, daughter of Cristoforo Marenio and Chiara Aleandro.[16]

Alberto Castrodardo had at least three children: Aleandro, Giovanni Battista, and Andrea. The eldest followed in his father's footsteps, while the other two followed in those of Jesus. At a young age, Giovanni Battista entered the chapter of Belluno Cathedral, where he was present from 1534 until 1584. On October 20, 1539, he was ordained a priest by Filippo Donato, suffragan of Gasparo Contarini, bishop of Belluno (1536–42), and lived permanently in the city at least until 1542. That was the year when Cardinal Contarini, not long before his alleged meeting with Bernardino Ochino, wrote from Bologna to the Belluno chapter, referring to Giovanni Battista as *canonicus antiquior*, but expressing his preference for Agostino de Salcis for the deanery. Contarini would have hoped that the deanery be taken on by a "person mature in years, prudence, and goodness," and he rejected Giovanni Battista "because he is still too young, and when the necessary circumstances present themselves, he will

be given the place he deserves."[17]

Though Belluno was among the poorest dioceses in the Terraferma, that same post had been held by Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1516–17 and 1537–42), who stepped down when he became bishop of Gubbio. Gasparo's death in Bologna, the much-debated succession to the Belluno seat of his young nephew Giulio Contarini (1542–75), and, most importantly, Bembo's pressure on the chapter, all seem to have crushed any hopes Giovanni Battista might have had: although he was *canonicus antiquior* for decades, he was never given the deanery. That post was instead held by Marco Antonio Bembo (1542–43), nephew of Pietro and son of Matteo; by Vendrando de Egregis (1543), son of Margherita delle Fosse and hence nephew of Pierio Valeriano; by the brother of Vendrando, Giovanni Antonio de Egregis (1543–49), formerly vice dean in 1539; and again by a Bembo: Pietro, brother of Marco Antonio (1549–65).[18]

We can therefore surmise that Giovanni Battista was somewhat overshadowed by the Bembo and the delle Fosse families, which had very close ties, as well as control over the posts of dean and archpresbyter. This may have been one of the reasons why Castrodardo left Belluno. So perhaps the reason was political. Other legitimate reasons can be added as well: his legal studies in Padua, and, above all, his restlessness and his literary curiosity. According to Piloni, Castrodardo studied literature and law for a long time.

Perhaps disappointed by the goings-on in the chapter, and no doubt drawn to other opportunities, between 1542 and 1543 Giovanni Battista moved to Padua, to Venice, and to Rome: to "the court of Pope Paul," Piloni goes on to say. After 1543 and until 1548 Giovanni Battista, in fact, was no longer living in Belluno. The books of the cathedral *massaria* help us to track his absence: from June 1543 onward, Giovanni Battista was absent from the chapter, and did not return there until February 7, 1548, the date when he himself, as *canonicus antiquior*, summoned the chapter. In those years, owing to the many absences, "as so few canons are residents at present," Bishop Giulio Contarini strongly defended the supernumeraries nominated by his uncle Gasparo. But most importantly, during those years, Giovanni Battista entered the publishing world and attempted to undertake a literary career in what was a fast-growing printing industry at the time. He thus became a part of that numerous group of heirs to the notary bourgeoisie of the Venetian Terraferma who from several places converged on Venice to try and make their fortune in the world of translating, editing, and publishing.[19]

During that short period (1543–47), Giovanni Battista composed three of his four known works: two printed works and one that remained in manuscript form for the time being are lost. In 1544 he was bankrolled by Michele Tramezino, for whom, Piloni recalled, he "translated Nicolò Leonico's *de varia historia*." Castrodardo thus began his career by translating, "to get my own experience, to see the results of my translation," the *De varia historia libri III*, an early work by Niccolò Leonico Tomeo. It was the translation of a small and

elegant abridgment of curiosities of ancient history dedicated by the publisher to Zaccaria Contarini (1526–1602). The booklet was highly successful: poised somewhere between literature and historiography, it actually influenced the development of the genre of the selve. Giovanni Battista signed the letter to the readers, dated Padua September 18, 1544, thus leaving behind a trace of his readings, his culture, and his literary projects. In his letter Castrodardo shows that he was familiar with Leonico's epistles and his models: "When Nicolò Leonico was still very young, as he himself tells us in one of his epistles, imitating Pliny's *De Naturali Historie*, gathering from many commentaries, he wrote a book *De Varie Historie*." He mentioned Cicero's ideas on translation in order to free himself from any criticism of his first translation: "I discreetly observed the precept of Cicero and how he taught, I weighed up the sentences and I did not count the words." Inspired by Sperone Speroni's theory on the legitimacy of the Italian language, he emphasized the importance of translations for the new urban public, albeit lacking in classical languages and literatures; and so he praised the ductility, the pleasantness, and the growing prestige of the vernacular. But most importantly, according to common practice in early modern publishing, in his letter to the reader, he promoted his second, highly ambitious work. The good success of the first work might have been "the reason and stimulus for better things," among which was an already "prepared" edition of Dante's *Commedy* along with the editor's own argomenti. Having recently left Belluno, the canon promised to provide readers, "with the help of He who saved us," a complex work of literary erudition, after the translation of Leonico's anthology of historical curiosities published by Tramezino. That is to say: "the principal and most doctrinal book in the vernacular tongue, by he who described the *Inferno*, the *Purgatory*, and the *Paradise*, with a hundred short and allegorical *argomenti*, for each canto, with the annotations, images and colors, as well the interpretations of the words and the hidden meanings in the margins, with the names of the characters according to the way comic playwrights do, as he himself called that poem a comedy."[20]

The second work by Giovanni Battista, which remained a manuscript and has since been lost, was thus an edition of Dante's *Comedy*. It was a very ambitious edition, and although there is currently no trace of the work, it can certainly be dated to between the end of 1544 and 1547: between the translation from Leonico Tomeo, in which he promised to offer an edition of Dante's *Comedy*, and the *Alcorano di Macometto*, in which the work on Dante is said to have already been composed. The work is unknown to modern Dante studies, but a weak echo of it could still be heard between Belluno and Venice in the early eighteenth century. A descendant of the Castrodardos, the attorney Aleandro Castrodardo, who was active between 1693 and 1734, chancellor of the chapter and of the college of jurists in Belluno, owned a few fragments of it. He informed the erudite Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750) of this in a note dated February 7, 1710, attesting to the fact that Giovanni Battista

"commented on Dante's work, and so I now own, as his heir, amidst many erudite compositions of prose and verse, the fragments of his commentaries on Dante."[21]

Aleandro Castrodardo seems to mention a commentary to Dante's *Comedy* and not just preparatory materials for an edition of the *Comedy* with the *argomenti*, and says that fragments from it can be found "amidst many erudite compositions of prose and verse." In other words, he speaks of a richer literary production, one that does not disdain poetry alongside historiography.

Though the portrait of the canon is still a sketchy one, it does seem to become slightly clearer and, using local history sources, further details may be added to it. Upon closer examination we discover some surprising clues regarding Castrodardo's activity as a poet, and we find them in the eighteenth century. A few years after the note addressed to Apostolo Zeno, in 1726, in a short and edifying work printed by Domenico Bordoni consisting of an eclogue celebrating Belluno's most famous ecclesiastics, Giovanni Battista is listed among the poets. The eclogue illustrates the ecclesiastics' coats of arms that, as the author writes, "stood carefully arranged around the theater magnificently built for the academy [of the seminary of Belluno]." This short text lists all the Belluno ecclesiastics who deserved to be remembered for either their virtue or their literary merits: "not all, but only those who devoted themselves to an active life in the church, or those who were worthy of being remembered owing to their goodness, or to their writings." Included among the latter, more specifically among the poets, is Giovanni Battista: "among the laurel-crowned shepherds who drank from the same water as Hippocrene, there is also the one who comes from 'Dardo,' that is, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo."[22]

"Quei dal Dardo" chronologically precedes the canon Niccolò Cantilena and the abbot Michele Cappellari. He is none other than Giovanni Battista as indicated in the footnote: "Arme del canonico Gio(vanni) Battista Casteldardo con elogio: 'Jo(hannes) Baptista Castrodardus Canonicus Poeseos laude illustris': flor. an. 1592."[23] These are clearly words of praise: Giovanni Battista was a poet, though in the present moment we are not familiar with any of his poems. Indeed, he seems not to have been a protagonist in the literary circles of Belluno, perhaps because of his distance from the people who gravitated around Pierio Valeriano and the alleged academy of Belluno, nourished over the years by the brothers and poets Ortensio and Lattanzio Persicini. Rather, it seems he was isolated from the literary circles. And, for sure, his third and most successful work, the translation of the Qu'ran of 1547, with the exception of Castrodardo's portrait by Giorgio Piloni, was erased from the memory of the author's own city.

In the eighteenth century, the descendants of his family and the canons of the cathedral had no memory of his most famous work, one that was hugely successful in Europe. There was little memory of it in Belluno, no doubt because the translation was anonymous, but probably also due to

Castrodardo's own self-censorship once he had returned to Belluno (1548–88). Except for Piloni, who had direct relations with the Castrodardo family and with Giovanni Battista himself, sharing with him a passion for municipal history, during the second half of the sixteenth century nobody seemed to know that Giovanni Battista Castrodardo had translated and edited the *Alcorano di Macometto*, a book that was forbidden by the *Tridentine Index* of 1564. Most likely, Castrodardo's silence about his past as a translator of the Qur'an also contributed to erasing the memory of his short but intense literary career.

Indeed, we have no idea how Castrodardo ended up in Arrivabene's workshop, whether or to what extent he shared the religious ideas that were circulating there. Nor do we know whether he had any relationship with Paolo Alpago of Belluno, who in May 1547 received a ten-year license to print the Arabic medical works translated by his uncle Andrea, or with the Bellunese Giulio Doglioni, a physician in Syria, and definitely in Padua in 1545–47, or with Giuseppe Tramezino, a connoisseur of Oriental languages and the nephew of the publisher who released Castrodardo's translation of Leonico Tomeo.[24]

We do know, however, that after 1547, a year marked by the Decree on Justification, by the anti-Habsburg riots that broke out in different parts of the peninsula, by the institution in Venice of the *Tre Savi sopra l'Eresia*, and by the defeat of the German Protestants at Mülberg, Castrodardo's career, that of an ambitious and enthusiastic editor of Dante and the translator of a companion to Islam that was an instant success, abruptly came to a halt. The interruption was sudden, to say the least, and for no specific or known reason: a reason that remained hidden in the heart of the canon or that has yet to reemerge from the archival sources. Castrodardo's literary activity and his time away from Belluno, in fact, ended as soon as the anti-Habsburg hopes—which had been disseminated in the circles where Castrodardo translated and edited the *Alcorano* and where the book circulated—were crushed. We can legitimately ask whether there is some link between these events and Castrodardo's personal and intellectual history. From 1548, in fact, Giovanni Battista was again in Belluno. He traveled up the Piave River to return to his native province and settled in the chapter until 1584. That was the year when, after "approximately sixty years," Castrodardo gave up the canonry in favor of his nephew Brunoro Castrodardo.[25]

After a brief experience in Padua, Venice, and Rome, after drafting an edition of Dante's *Comedy* and publishing his companion to Islam, Castrodardo retreated to the life of his chapter, in Belluno, choosing erudite and antiquarian studies, which was common to many intellectuals—more famous than he—at the time. He devoted himself to municipal and local history, he wrote verses, and he seemed to hide the achievements of his swift career as translator and editor, especially the translation of the Qu'ran, a book that was definitively condemned by the Tridentine *Index* in 1564. By now, dark

clouds loomed overhead in the post-Tridentine sky. Bishop Giulio Contarini, and later his follower Giambattista Valier (1575–96), applied new strategies of disciplining and controlling both the population and the clergy of the city. The Jesuit preacher Alfonso Salmerón arrived in Belluno in 1549, the Inquisition and the Franciscan inquisitors in 1551, including the most renowned of all, Bonaventura Maresio (1564–1609), and the seminary was founded in 1568.[26]

Thus, the history of the bishops of Belluno, until now believed to be lost, should have been written after 1548, when Castrodardo, perhaps disappointed by his failed literary career in Venice, returned to Belluno, to his life in the chapter, and, intellectually, to the safe space of municipal history. His work on the bishops of Belluno was not unknown to the local historians of the Veneto. Its existence was known of thanks to Giorgio Piloni, who used it as a source for his *Historia*. Through Piloni, the name Castrodardo circulated in the local and ecclesiastic historiography, making him famous in the region as a historian of Belluno and its bishops. Piloni referred to his work on several occasions, as he did to Castrodardo's interest in reading and writing history. He added the *Castrodardi bellunensis fragmenta* to the index of the authors he consulted. In addition to this, in the second book he echoed his discussions with the canon about the dedication of the Cathedral of Belluno: "The priest and canon of Belluno Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, who greatly enjoyed knowing about the past, would often say. . . ." In the fourth book, Piloni more or less faithfully reproduced the report of the death of Bishop Manfredi di Collalto (1321): "Giovanni Battista Castrodardo of Belluno tells us that the death of this very honorable bishop took place in the following way."[27]

More information about Castrodardo's municipal interests has become available. In the Dresden University library, there is a fragment from Castrodardo's history of the bishops of Belluno dated to 1568. The fragment, dedicated by Castrodardo to Giambattista II Count of Collalto (Venice, c. 1514–85), deals with the death of Bishop Manfredi of Collalto (1320–21). This is the episode used by Piloni and thus reported in municipal and regional historiography. The dedication of the fragment provides additional information concerning the date of Castrodardo's historical work on Belluno. Castrodardo wrote to Giovanni Battista II of Collalto on August 8, 1568, telling him that he had begun composing the chronicle fifteen years earlier, around 1553: "I did not come to know anything other than the things I was already certain I knew, and which in order to tell them fifteen years ago I had outlined in a chronicle that now, revised more clearly, I send to Your Highness." In other words, in 1568 he revised the work drafted in the early 1550s, a time when his erudite interests had flourished: in April 1554, for instance, he had borrowed from Francesco Doglioni medieval documents, which he then copied and returned to their legitimate owner.[28]

Even the identity of the dedicatee tells us something about Castrodardo's interests as a municipal historian. Giovanni Battista II of Collalto, son of Niccolò and husband of Elisabetta, countess of Polcenigo and Fana, was

praepositor of Sant'Eustachio in Nervesa until 1548, the year he gave up his charge, which passed to Tolberto and to Vinciguerra, son of Manfredi and brother of the famous Collaltino, who had close ties to Arrivabene's circles. The count was a military captain and, like Castrodardo, "antiquarum rerum studiosissimus." In particular, he was interested in the history and genealogy of his family: in 1573–74 he commissioned a book on Collalto's family from Angelo dei Vicari. Hence, Castrodardo's passion for history is evident. The study of the history of the local nobility and clergy linked the historian of Belluno to his dedicatee. A trace of the common interest in the murder of Manfredi of Collalto, bishop of Belluno and ancestor of Giovanni Battista II Collalto, can be found in the dedication itself: "After I left, I began to do what I had promised you as concerns ancient history, which we discussed at length. And I began to search for information that could fulfill your desire for knowledge through both the documents I possessed and those possessed by others." Castrodardo copied from his chronicle only "that part, however, that concerns your noblest House," and invited the dedicatee, as he was someone "who might have a better grip on the things that I did not know," to correct and amend his notes. To those notes he made a small and generous addition: three medieval Latin fragments on the origins of the Collaltos taken from other works.[29]

Giovanni Battista II of Collalto was also politically linked with the city of Belluno. He was the *avogaro* (attorney) of Bishop Giulio Contarini, and was thus familiar with the city and with the cathedral chapter. For the bishop's entry into Belluno in June 1549, after the first difficult years in Trento, the dedicatee, together with Sertorio Collalto, assisted Bishop Contarini, from whom he received the *cappa magna*, or cope, the hood and a hat indicating the right of the *avogaria*. The Collalto family, after all, had obtained the *avogaria* of the bishopric of Feltre and Belluno in the mid-fourteenth century, soon after the death of Bishop Manfredi Collalto. The *avogaro*'s interest in the history of one of his most illustrious ancestors should come as no surprise.

We also know from a contemporary source that it was Giovanni Battista II of Collalto himself who commissioned Manfredi's gravestone in 1577. Giovanni Maria Barcelloni, known among historians of the Italian language and literature for having been one of the witnesses to the *Ritmo bellunese*, while copying a list of bishops of Feltre and Belluno, jotted down in the margin close to Manfredi's name: "and now Zambattista da Colalto commissions the following epitaph of 1577 so that it can be placed on his gravestone." We can justifiably hypothesize that the *avogaro* who loved reading history asked the local historian Castrodardo for information on his ancestor, based on sources that differed from the ones available in Treviso or among the family documents. Perhaps he intended to pay tribute to his illustrious ancestor with an epigraph to be applied to the preexisting sarcophagus or else he was encouraged by Castrodardo's report to commission a commemorative gravestone.[30]

Castrodardo's literary activity can be summed up as follows: the translation of Leonico's work is dated to 1544, the work on Dante kept him busy from 1544 to 1547, the *Alcorano di Macometto* is dated to 1547, and the history of the bishops of Belluno can be dated to after 1553. Castrodardo's writing career lasted only a few years, during which time he entered the workshops of Michele Tramezino and Andrea Arrivabene. In this context he worked as a translator of history books and an editor of Dante, embracing Sperone Speroni's ideas about the legitimacy of the Italian language and the importance of translation for the wide public of new readers. Once Castrodardo returned to Belluno (1548), he led what seems to have been a peaceful life, which was in part safeguarded by the respect owed to the *canonicus antiquior*, who did not find or perhaps did not even look for a way into the post of dean. On January 9, 1567, he was given the office of altarist of the altar of San Martino in Belluno Cathedral, a post he renounced in favor of Francesco Carrera on October 31, 1587. He was also in the Diocese of Ceneda parson of St. Tomaso in Colle (now the town of Colle Umberto, Treviso) between January 20, 1548, and October 18, 1564, the date when he renounced the position, indicating as heir to the office, in 1559, his brother Aleandro. In 1567 he also renounced some benefits in Vicenza. Again in Ceneda, thanks to the last will and testament of his uncle Pietro Aleandro, Castrodardo was given the post of altarist of the altar of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary from August 25, 1585, to February 28, 1588, the date when, "because of his death," the office was turned over to his nephew Brunoro Castrodardo. Thus, Castrodardo died sometime between October 31, 1587, and February 28, 1588.[31]

Castrodardo had several ecclesiastic benefices and sinecures, which over the course of the years he gradually renounced. After 1548, his peaceful life in Belluno was marked by his chapter duties and his antiquarian and historical interests, both under the bishops Giulio Contarini and Giovanni Battista Valier.

The inquisitorial trials of Belluno offer us further information. In 1566, two years after the *Alcorano* was banned by the *Index*, in the trial against the alleged heretic Giulio Maresio of Belluno (1522–67), who actually read Islamic texts and was beheaded in Rome the following year along with Pietro Carnesecchi, Castrodardo's name was brought up by a witness and he was asked to testify: "When he was asked whether he had ever been told someone or suspected that some priest or monk did not dutifully recite the liturgy during the sacrament of the Eucharist he answered, 'Yes, Sir, I remember that this was told to me, and I think it was either Messer Francesco Casamatta, or the vicar of your Reverend Worship, something concerning Father Giulio Maresio, of the Franciscans, perhaps less than a year ago.'"[32] Conversely, in a trial of September 1573, he appeared among the assistants of the inquisitor Bonaventura Maresio. He himself interrogated a few witnesses during the trial against Girolamo Doceto of Borgo Piave, a neighborhood of Belluno close to the Piave River. Doceto was accused of professing "that the Saints in heaven

have no power before God, that they do not pray for us and that they do not see our needs, that we must not turn to them, nor can we expect their help; that prayers were invented by Priests; that we must not make vows and we must not promise God more than what we promised on the occasion of our Baptism."[33] Shortly afterward, Bishop Giambattista Valier, during his first year in the post, convened a synod to examine the religious and liturgical status of the diocese (1575). Castrodardo participated in the synod as *canonicus antiquior*, and was elected *examinator ad beneficia* and *iudex super causis committendis*. At the time, Giovanni Battista was asked to interrogate during the trial against the alleged heretics of Mussolente (Vicenza), but in November 1579 he incurred an official warning from the bishop due to his negligence in serving the Mass: "We advise you that, through our honorable discipline, we have come to know that, despite our kind warnings, both public and private, you continue to recite the Eucharistic prayer while holding the chalice, thus conducting a negligence during the celebration of the Mass." Hence, "as it is a very indecent thing," Giovanni Battista was sentenced to pay a fine and, most importantly, he was invited by the bishop to "cease and desist from committing this negligence, nor pronounce any part of the liturgy of the Mass before having placed the chalice on the altar." Giovanni Battista, according to the bishop, did not seem to embrace the new synodal prescriptions. In fact, Valier goes on, "and since we have come to realize that you continue to commit several errors during the celebration of the Mass, showing little decorum before the clergy and provoking scandal and rumor, we inform you that in the future you must follow all the rules that are required to correctly celebrate this Sacrifice, and you must neither commit errors in your gestures nor in your words. Contrariwise, we will remind you to do so, using less kindness." The bishop's warning and threat must have found their way into Castrodardo's old heart: he was worn out, increasingly withdrawn, and in a few years' time he was to hand over the canonship to his nephew Brunoro.[34]

So the life of this unknown intellectual from Belluno unfolded quietly between midcentury and the Council of Trent, and it touched the destinies of some of the key figures in sixteenth-century Italy's religious crisis, people of the stature of Gasparo and Giulio Contarini, of Giulio, Florio, and Bonaventura Maresio, of Michele Tramezino and Andrea Arrivabene, of Girolamo and Pietro Aleandro. But above all, his life underwent a significant turn between 1547 and 1548, after the edition of the *Alcorano di Macometto* and his return to Belluno. It is difficult to pinpoint this turn, whether it was due to a deliberate choice, dictated by fear and by the worsening of the political situation that was coming to a head in Venice. One thing is certain: his intellectual adventure in the capital of publishing and translation had run aground, unlike what had happened to many of his contemporaries who had been launched by Andrea Arrivabene.

No trace of the translation of the Qur'an remained in the city of Belluno, which only remembered its native son as a poet and a municipal historian.

Already in the decades following his death, beyond Piloni's very brief portrait, there is absolutely no trace of Giovanni Battista as the translator of the Qu'ran. For instance, though Giovanni Niccolò Doglioni of Belluno (1548–1629) referred to the *Alcorano di Macometto* in the section he dedicated to Muhammad in his *Compendio historico universale* (Universal Historical Compendium) (1594), he made no mention of its translator, who was also a fellow citizen. Moreover, in *Del canonico politico*, Belluno-born Giovanni Battista Barpo (1584–1649) showed a certain amount of interest, as a true neophyte, in all things Muslim. He also reported a conversation he had had with the patriarch of Costantinople Cyril Lucaris (1572–1638), the translator of the Qu'ran into Latin, who had "never seen the Latin Qur'an, and having sent his vicar from Ancona to Rome for this purpose, even he was unable to see it in Vatican City, notwithstanding the continuous requests." Nor did Barpo, himself a historian of Belluno, as well as a canon of San Martino Cathedral, make any reference to the translator of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.[35]

By that time Giovanni Battista had become not much more than a shadow. Or rather, only a part of his career, as a poet and especially as a municipal historian, was kept alive by Giorgio Piloni and later in the historiography of the Venetian Terraferma. Castrodardo is recalled in the Veneto as the author of a history of the bishops of Belluno, not as the translator and editor of the first printed Qur'an in a European vernacular. His name can be read in the *Italia Sacra* written by Ferdinando Ughelli and curated by Niccolò Coleti, and in the *Historia della città di Feltre* by Girolamo Bertondelli. His report on the death of Bishop Manfredi, based on the version rewritten by Piloni, is discussed in the *Storia della Marca Trivigiana* by Giambattista Verci, in the *Storia di Feltre* by Antonio Cambruzzi, and in the historiography of Belluno, especially and several times in Florio Miari.[36]

Therefore, his success at a local level and on regional matters, filtered and awarded him by Piloni's *Historia*, had a parallel life in relation to the anonymous *Alcorano di Macometto* in Europe. These two different contexts, one local, the other international, as concerns Castrodardo's fate have never been read from a single perspective, for reasons related to the attribution of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. The figure that emerges most prominently is not that of an Arabist, but rather of a reader and editor of Dante and of a translator of history books, far removed therefore from Bibliander's erudite exegesis or André du Ryer's diplomatic Orientalism.

Giovanni Battista, unlike some of his more illustrious fellow citizens (the Alpagos, for example), was not at all devoted to the study of Oriental languages, nor did he pursue the humanist ideal of the five languages (the *collegium pentalingue*) championed by Pico della Mirandola. On the contrary, he embraced Sperone Speroni's theory on the need for and the dignity of translations, and even revealed, as did Alessandro Piccolomini, an antiexoticizing pose. Castrodardo explicitly states in the *Alcorano di Macometto* that it is neither his nor the reader's task to correctly write and

pronounce the Arabic names transcribed incorrectly and according to different lessons, in both printed texts and manuscript versions of the Qu'ran, "as it is not up to us to be familiar with them."[37]

He therefore seems to have had many more things in common with the editors of historical compendia in the workshop of Tramezino, with the mid-sixteenth-century Dante scholars circulating in Venice, and with the local antiquarianism professed by the intellectuals in Arrivabene's circle, many of whom were, like Castrodardo, clients of the Collaltos. And he distinguished himself from the more renowned European translators of the Qu'ran in the early modern era. Castrodardo was not a converted Morisco (Juan Andrés), he was not a converted Jew (Flavius Mithridates), nor was he either a polemicist or a missionary in the East (Antonio Neyrot da Rivoli, Dominicus Germanus of Slesia). He was certainly not a biblicist nor an expert in Oriental languages (Bibliander, Postel); he was not a European consul stationed in the Levant (André du Ryer), nor did he have firsthand knowledge of the Muslim East or West.

If we examine his life based on the biographical fragments left behind, and on his eloquent reticence, and based on what the archives tell us and what he withheld from his contemporaries, Giovanni Battista Castrodardo rather resembles a young and ambitious member of the Venetian Terraferma's middle class, with a solid legal, historical, and literary culture; a man who, having incurred the wrath of the religious authorities, retreated to the haven of his chapter and his hometown. I shall therefore devote the following chapters to further extracting Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from the shadow cone in which he placed himself, by analyzing three short but exemplary sections of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.

CHAPTER 5

The Iberian and Italian *Miʿrāǧ* by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo

An Unknown Dante Scholar and Muhammad's Ascension into Heaven

CHOOSING A TRANSLATOR

Now that the figure of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo is beginning to emerge from the shadows, this chapter will delve more deeply into the text of the *Alcorano* itself. When Castrodardo first began working for Arrivabene, between 1546 and 1547, he had been away from Belluno for a few years, and had already finished two works: he had translated a historical work by Leonico Tomeo (1544), and he had prepared, or drafted, the edition of Dante's *Comedy* with the *argomenti* for each canto (1544–47). Andrea Arrivabene chose the translator of the *Alcorano* from the young and ambitious polygraphs arriving in Venice from the Terraferma, and assigned him the Islamic and Ottoman book in his catalogue of history books. Arrivabene did not need an Arabist. All he needed was a promising workshop translator, not necessarily a translator with a lot of experience, but who did know Latin, and who was interested in history and its dissemination. We do not know how Arrivabene came to meet Castrodardo, whether it was through the Tramezinos, the Collaltos, or some other figure close to Castrodardo. However, we do know why Arrivabene chose a young scholar like Castrodardo, just as we know about the new sources that were available to both the publisher and the translator.

Andrea Arrivabene, publisher and bookseller, served as the Venetian point of sale for Pietro Perna's book trade and religious propaganda, and it was through Arrivabene that the Latin editions by Bibliander and Widmanstetter may have arrived in Venice. Furthermore, Arrivabene collaborated with Bartolomeo called "l'Imperatore," from whom he could easily have received a copy of the *Confusione de la secta Machumetana* (Confutation of the Sect of Muhammad) by Juan Andrés, which Bartolomeo printed in 1545. Castrodardo consulted a large collection of new books, texts hot off the press, that were hugely successful in both Italy and the rest of Europe. The materials he worked with were, in fact, very up to date: besides Bibliander's (1543), Widmanstetter's

(1543) and Juan Andrés's works, he was able to get his hands on a manuscript of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, on the histories of Bernardo Giustinian (1493 and 1545), and on several popular texts concerning the Ottoman religion and civilization, such as the *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* by Bartolomej Georgijevič (1544–45), and the *Costumi dei Turchi* by Luigi Bassano, printed in Rome in 1545. Autobiographies, travel journals, protoethnographic accounts, and polemical works that contained stories of conversions, personal tragedies, and adventures all flowed into Venice both from the Ottoman East and from Iberia, so that they could then be relaunched in Europe and the Mediterranean countries under a new ideological and typographical frame.

Giovanni Battista shaped all these texts in a modern, very personal way, offering to a broad Italian-reading public an updated companion to the religion of the Ottomans and the history of Islam. It was a small yet rich volume that catered to a variety of tastes, as it contained erudite texts, exotic fictions, an Italian version of the Arabic-Latin historical texts of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, and, most importantly, of the text of the Qur'an.

But exactly how did Castrodardo compile his work? How did he put together this handy companion to Islam? In assembling it, he essentially carried out three operations: an original rewriting of the sixteenth-century European sources in the long introduction, a chronological recomposition of the medieval Arabic-Latin historical texts in the first book, and a strong reduction by condensation of the text of the Qur'an, of which he eliminated numerous narrative sections while respecting the unity of the suras, in the second and third books. This is a first, simplified description of Castrodardo's work, but it should serve as a guide for reading this chapter and the following two chapters.

Each of the chapters focuses on smaller segments of the text. These segments shed light on Castrodardo, on the way he translated, and on the culture through which he reassembled the work of Robert of Ketton and Bibliander, recontextualizing the Qur'an and the Islamic traditions in the midst of the political and religious crisis in Italy in the mid-sixteenth century. The time dedicated to the attribution has not been in vain. Moreover, a very close reading of the text, focused both on the style of the translator and on the messages hidden in the texts, as well as on the personal traces whether or not consciously left in the text, allows us to rediscover the personality and the life of an unknown intellectual of the sixteenth century. Though early modern translations do not necessarily take the translator into account, and in spite of a publishing and cultural context in which editors and polygraphs often remain behind the scenes, what nonetheless strongly emerges here, along with his limits, passions, and fears, is the intellectual life of a person: the canon Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno, a Dante scholar, an editor of histories and a historian himself, and the first translator of the Qur'an into Italian.

MELANIPPUS AND COMAETHO

Giovanni Battista Castrodardo loved Dante's poem. He described Dante's *Comedy* as "il principal libro e più dottrinato della lingua volgare" (the main and most learned book written in the vernacular). In the eyes of this young polygraph from the 1540s, Dante was superior to the triumphant Petrarch. Between 1544 and 1547—while such famous Dante scholars as Bernardino Daniello and Alessandro Vellutello were publishing their works in Venice—Giovanni Battista penned "one hundred essential and allegorical commentaries for each of the cantos," which remained among the papers of his heirs until the first decades of the eighteenth century and now unfortunately appear to have been lost. With no way of reading the *argomenti*, or the *commentari* that Castrodardo's heir referred to in the eighteenth century, I shall endeavor to illustrate Castrodardo's knowledge of Dante on the basis of his printed works. A first trace of his reading of Dante can be seen in his translation of Leonico Tomeo, for instance, in a passage in which the author describes the love tragedy of the young Melanippus and the virgin Comaetho, a priestess of Diana in the city of Aroe in the Gulf of Patras (based on Pausanias, 7: 19, 1–5).

In the temple of the goddess the two young lovers consummated their forbidden love, much like that of Paolo and Francesca, and by doing so misfortune fell on the local population. Castrodardo went back to the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, and translated the Latin passage by Leonico: "amor qui hominum deorumque iura contemnit et omnia sursum versus sacra prophanaque contaminat et invertit, Melanippum et Comaetham in Dianae ipsius templo coniunxisse" with these words: "Amor, ch'a nulla cosa perdona, facendo le cose licite illicite e queste licite, congiunse Melanippo et Cometha nel tempio di Diana." Castrodardo borrowed two of the most famous lines from Dante's *Comedy* and transformed Leonico's "amor qui hominum deorumque iura contemnit" into "amor, ch'a nulla cosa perdona," echoing the words of Francesca in *Inferno* 5: 103, "Amor, ch'a nullo amato amar perdona" (Love, that releases no beloved from loving). Castrodardo also translated "et omnia sursum versus sacra prophanaque contaminat et invertit" by applying the shrewdness of the lustful Semiramìs, *Inferno* 5: 56, "che libito fé licito in sua legge" (that she made license licit in her laws), the tragic necessity of the passion of love that is capable of subverting every order, be it social or religious. This is only a first example, taken from proverbial passages: Castrodardo, who shortly afterward began editing Dante's *Comedy*, read the myth taken from Leonico through the literary and popular filter of the story of Paolo and Francesca.[1]

THE CLEANSING OF MUHAMMAD'S HEART

Returning to the *Alcorano di Macometto*, which Castrodardo worked on after the "argomenti essentiali et allegorici" on Dante's *Comedy*, and was possibly published in the early months of 1547: in that same period in Venice plans

were being made to publish the text of Dante's *De monarchia* translated into Italian by Marsilio Ficino. In the *Alcorano di Macometto* traces of Castrodardo's work on Dante continued to grow, and the influence of his *argomenti* or *commentarii*, still fresh in Giovanni Battista's mind, are evident in the new work.

The first book of the *Alcorano* focuses on the translation of the *Fabulae Saracenorum* contained in Bibliander's encyclopedia. Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the first book, that is, "La generatione di Macometto," "La natività di Macometto," and "La nodritura di Macometto" (The Generation of Muhammad, The Birth of Muhammad, and The Nurture of Muhammad,) splitting it up into three sections, translate the Latin treatise *De generatione Machumet* by Herman of Carinthia. The text tells us about Muhammad's genealogy, and it also describes, alongside the other episodes from his childhood, the passage of the prophetic light (*nūr muḥammadiyya*) that God imprinted on Adam's forehead, and that from one generation to another reached as far as Muhammad, the Seal of Prophets, as illustrated in the upper rectangular frame of the title page, which iconographically seems to be based on the episode of the birth of the Virgin.

In chapter 4, "La nodritura di Macometto," Castrodardo offers an Italian version of the purification of Muhammad's heart, that is, the cleansing of the child prophet's heart of all evil and impurities. The episode is told by the son of Ḥalīma, the prophet's wet nurse, and therefore his milk brother. Castrodardo tells this very hagiographic episode, reread here in a Dantesque and antihagiographic key, by quoting the words of Muhammad himself:

> Egli quasi sbigottito risponde: "Tre huomini cavandomi de pascholi mi condussero qui. Il primo *mi sparò* fino al bellico sanza farmi punto di male e mi lavò le viscere e fecele bianche come neve. Il secondo *mi partì* il core in due parti e cavando del mezzo un grano negro et gettandolo via disse: 'Questa è la portione del Diavolo.' Il terzo mi rimesse le viscere nel ventre e ritornommi come voi vedete ch'io sono." (Italics added)[2]

> With some dismay, he answered: "Three men took me away from the pastures and brought me here. The first man opened my chest down to my belly without hurting me, and washing my organs until they were as white as snow. The second man divided my heart into two parts, extracting from the center a black grain which he threw away, saying 'This is the portion of the Devil.' The third man put my organs back inside my belly and restored my appearance as you see it now."

The passage closely follows Herman of Carinthia's version in the Basel edition: "Ille quasi terrefactus: 'Tres—inquit—viri de pascuis arreptum huc elevarunt. Quorum primus a pectore usque ad umbilicum nihil laedens *aperuit*, apertaque viscera nive lavit. Succedens secundus cor per medium *scidit* et e medio granum nigrum eripiens, abiecit dicens: "Haec est portio diaboli." Tertius loca extergens me, ut fueram et sum, restituit.'"[3] In the marginal note to the text, Bibliander's reference to the cleansing of the Prophet's heart is a generic one: "The child Muhammad eviscerated and purified." The episode is based on Qur'an, 94: 1: "*'alam našraḥ laka ṣadraka*" (Have we not opened your breast

for you?), which in turn could remind a reader of the Old Testament of Ezekiel 36: 26: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." In Castrodardo's Latin source, akin to the most ancient of Islamic traditions, it appears as a tale referring to Muhammad's childhood, but it was also of great success as an introductory episode to Muhammad's journey to heaven in the popular transmission of the miʿrāǧ. Castrodardo went far beyond Bibliander's very simple marginal note. He recalled his own recent work on Dante, which was still fresh in his memory: in particular the argomento on canto 28 of the *Inferno*: "Forse augura questo scrittore che Macometto sia così sfesso dal mento in fin dove si trulla, come scismatico, del quale Dante nel canto XXVIII del Inferno, e nel nostro argomento sopra quello"[4] (Perhaps this writer wishes that Muhammad, as a schismatic, were ripped right from his chin to where we fart. [See] Dante in canto 28 of the Inferno, and our *argomento* on it). The splitting of Muhammad's breast is interpreted as a wish: a sign and the *figura* of the future, as well as the harsh *contrappasso* of the schismatic soul. Here, the cleansing of the heart does not prepare Muhammad for the vision of God, but for eternity in the ninth bolgia. Castrodardo quotes from memory and replaces "rotto" with "sfesso," combining *Inferno* 28: 24: "rotto dal mento infin dove si trulla" (ripped right from his chin to where we fart) with *Inferno* 28: 33: "fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto" (whose face is opened wide from chin to forelock) referred to ʿAlī instead. Castrodardo, therefore, inteprets the cleaving of Muhammad's breast through the inverted lens of the *contrapasso* of Dante's *Inferno*, transforming a tale on the great purity of the prophet Muhammad into a bitter and foul image of popular realism, be it tragic or grotesque. The analogy is plain to see, and the overlapping of the two episodes immediate for a writer who had written his *argomenti* on Dante's *Comedy* not long before: Castrodardo saw in the initiatory surgery of the three men the sign of the future and foul punishment of Muhammad in Dante's *Inferno*.[5]

Also worth noting is Castrodardo's stylistic choice when he translates the act of cutting: "quorum primus a pectore usque ad umbilicum nihil laedens *aperuit*" becomes "il primo mi *sparò* fino al bellico sanza farmi punto di male" (the first man ripped my chest down to my belly without hurting me; italics added). Uri Rubin has pointed out how in ancient Islamic texts the episode of the prophetic evisceration gradually converges toward the Qur'anic model in order to adapt the biographies of the Prophet to the text of the Revelation. This would mean shifting—but not always univocally, as those who disagree with Rubin's theory point out—from a physical and realistic terminology to the proper Qur'anic quotation: from the use of phrases such as *šaqq baṭn* (cleaving the belly) to expressions like *šarḥ ṣadr* (expand, widen, open the chest)' for the purpose of relating the episode with the Qur'an XCIV, 1, and therefore the previously recalled "*'alam našraḥ laka ṣadraka*" (Have we not opened your breast for you [to faith]?) This verse should be read next to other passages

from the Qur'an in which the metaphorical meaning of *šaraḥa* (to open,) is more explicit: Qur'an39: 22: *'afaman šaraḥa'l-lahu ṣadrahu li-l-islāmi* (And he whose heart, chest, God has laid open to Islām).[6]

So far we do not know for sure which source Herman of Carinthia worked on, nor do we know what the Latin "quorum primus a pectore usque ad umbilicum nihil laedens aperuit" is a translation of. It would appear to be an Arabic text on the genealogy, the passage of the prophetic light, and Muhammad's childhood that spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula in the twelfth century. James Kritzeck has advanced the following hypothesis: an unidentified *Kitāb nasab rasūl Allāh* (Book of the Genealogy of the Messenger of God). Conversely, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh has suggested a Shiite book on the genealogy of ʿAlī attribuited to the historian ʿAlī al-Masʿudi (d. 996). Óscar de la Cruz Palma has suggested a *Kitāb al-anwār* (The Book of Lights) dated to before the twelfth century, which would constitute a parallel tradition to the thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-anwār* by Abū al-Ḥasn al-Bakrī, on which a later *Libro de las luces* in *aljamiado* is based, and which includes the following version of the episode: "I díyšome: 'Agora, eštando akí kon miš ermanoš ŷugando, biniyeron tereš onbereš ke nunka loš bi máš fermošoš k-elloš, . . . I pirišiyéronme d-entere miš ermanoš i tarayóronme akí: itáronme en tiyerra muy šutilmente, [kon šošiyego,] i *fendiyéronme* de miš peytoš d-aky-a mi surrilla [*ombligo*], i yo mirando, i no šentíya dolor [ni enoŷo] ninguna. I metiyó šu mano en mi biyentere [i šakó laš tiripas] i labólo kon akella aguwa i niyebe muy bien, i torrnólo a šu lugar.'"[7] While the Arabic text used for Herman of Carinthia's Latin version has not been identified yet, we do know of Castrodardo's Italian translation: "il primo mi *sparò* fino al bellico sanza farmi punto di male." Here the Latin "aperuit" is translated with the word *sparare*, attested at least since the thirteenth century, which means *squarciare*, *sventrare*, that is, "to cleave," "rip open": "ripping open a person's belly, in particular as a terrible torture, cleaving with a blade or with a lunging thrust, slaying with a knife," or, in more technical terms, "cutting in the stomach region or lengthwise an animal that is killed or slaughtered to remove its entrails."[8]

Castrodardo's choice was thus very literary, with a Tuscan ring to it. The *Ottimo commento* on *Inferno* 9 reads as follows: "Perseo prese il regno di Medusa, tagliolle la testa, *sparolle* il ventre, del cui sangue nacque il Pegaso." Cristoforo Landino commented on *Paradiso* 4 as follows: "un pesce venne a Tobia lavandosi lui e piedi. Preselo per comandamento dell'angelo, et *sparollo* serbandone el cuore et el fiele, et el resto insalò per havere di che cibarsi in camino." Or better still, we can recall the fourteenth-century translation of the life of Saint Dominic by Jacobus da Varagine, which harkens back to a hagiographic episode that is very close to the cleansing of the prophet's heart, in which *sparare* translates the Latin *scindere*, for which Castrodardo instead used the word *partire* (to divide): "san Domenico gli apparve e *sparolli* il ventre sanza dolore, e purgollo da ogni fastidiume, e anche con la sua mano

ugnendo lo risaldò, e sanollo perfettamente." This is the translation of "ventremque eius sine dolore *scindens* immunditias omnes extraxit et iterum manu sua sacra unctione consolidans ipsum perfecte sanavit."[9]

Castrodardo, in other words, takes the opposite direction from the one pointed out by Uri Rubin for the Arabic sources of the episode. He overcomes Herman and Bibliander's neutral "aperuit" and veers toward a more definite, concrete, and realistic meaning: "mi sparò," that is to say, "he gutted me" or "he ripped me" to extract the heart. This choice of "mi sparò" seems to converge with its intensive *s* and, as the marginal note confirms, toward a Muhammad who is *rotto* or (*s*)*fesso* like the ʿAlī, *storpiato* or, even better in the variant *scoppiato*, that is, "sparato" (ripped) in canto 28 of the *Inferno*.

Beyond the linguistic explanation, the relationship between the *Alcorano* and the Iberian sources of Muhammad's genealogy and childhood is more complex than expected and needs to be analyzed in greater detail. As we know, in his long introduction (i–l) Castrodardo collates in an exhaustive new abridgment both contemporary Italian and Latin sources that have nothing to do with Bibliander's encyclopedia, and he broadly uses the *Opera chiamata confusione della setta machumetana* attributed to Juan Andrés, a Muslim scholar from Xátiva who converted to Christianity. In the first chapter of the introduction, "La vera vita di Macometto, tratta dall'historie di christiani," Castrodardo uses the work of Juan Andrés as a source. He records the real or alleged miracles of the prophet, presented in a rough and hasty extract from Juan Andrés's tenth chapter translated into Italian by Domingo de Gaztelu. There are seven miracles in Juan Andrés, six in Castrodardo. In both lists, the first of these concerns the cleansing of Muhammad's heart, provided in a different version from the Arabic-Latin source he used in the first book, the *De generatione Machumet*. This is the cleansing of Muhammad's heart that appears in the introduction of the *Alcorano*: "E per non lasciar alcuna cosa da lui o per lui fatta, diremo anchora d'alcuni suoi favolosi miracoli, quantunque non s'havesse testimonio alcuno. Et il primo, quando essendo fanciullo e ne' pascoli solo, gli *fu aperto* il petto dall'angelo Gabriello suo custode, e trattogli la fece o non so che di cattivo attaccato al cuore."[10] It is a rewriting of Domingo de Gaztelu's Italian translation of the Spanish text: "Il primo miracolo che fece Machometto fu quello che di sopra è posto c(apitolo) 1 de la vita sua. Quando l'angelo Gabriel gli *aperse* il petto e cavò il cor suo e cavò la gutta negra, secondo che è posto e dechiarato. Il qual miracolo non si legge in tutta le legge de li Mori, che nissun l'habbia visto fare."[11] The indication "c(apitolo) 1 de la vita sua" reveals a further trace of this other ablution that became a part of Castrodardo's text, with the Archangel Gabriel as the protagonist. Indeed, in the first chapter by Juan Andrés translated by Domingo de Gaztelu we read: "E tornando a Machomet quando sua balia sopradetta Halima l'havea in poter suo, dice Azear che quando Mahoma già era di quatro anni n'andò un dì con li figli della detta Balia a pascolare, e stando egli solo nel campo, venne l'angelo Gabriel in figura d'huomo vestito di bianco come neve, e prendetelo per mano,

e tirandolo dietro una colina el detto angelo con un rasoio gli cavò il cuore dil petto, e cavò di quel cuore una goccia nera, la qual i mori dicono haver tutti gli huomini del mondo."[12]

In this second version of the cleansing, Castrodardo preserves the verb "aprire" (to open) used by Domingo de Gaztelu but chooses to express the "gutta negra" with the cultured Latinism "fece" (<*faecem*) (scum), often used in contemporary poetry and prose. See Annibal Caro, the sonnet against Ludovico Castelvetro, "Mostrava, e lo credette alcun balocco," in rhyme: "a schimbece / fece / pece"; and Ortensio Lando, *Paradossi*, in a figurative sense: "uomo di bassa condizione e quasi della fece populare".

Yet it is the presence of a different version of the episode in the introduction that interests us. Here it is not the three men who wash Muhammad's heart, like in the *De Generatione Machumet* and in the *aljamiado* text (*biniyeron tereš onbereš*), but the Archangel Gabriel in person, who cleaves the chest of the future prophet. Juan Andrés follows another source with respect to Herman of Carinthia, that is, an Arabic version of the *sīra rasūl allāh* (Life of the Messenger of God), which Juan Andrés himself describes with the words "un libro que se llama Azear, libro muy auténtico entre los moros en el qual se contiene toda la vida de Mahoma" and which makes up the main source of his treatise.[13]

Therefore, both Iberian versions of the episode, the medieval one and the early modern one, through Herman of Carinthia and Bibliander and Juan Andrés and Domingo de Gaztelu reached the *Alcorano di Macometto* and did not remain the same. The first of these is noted in the margin as the *figura* of Muhammad's sentence in Dante's *Inferno*. The second, combined with the first, inspires one of the scenes of the life of the Prophet Muhammad in the woodcut title page of the book. In the lower scene on the left the Archangel Gabriel, taken from Juan Andrés's version, stands out in the foreground with two small angels in the rural background that reestablish Herman of Carinthia's three men, thus iconographically balancing the figure of the child Muhammad. The two Iberian versions of the cleansing of the heart, one from the twelfth century and the other from the sixteenth century, reached the text of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, and set inside a frame of northern European origin, they come together in a single scene of the title page that emphasizes the Archangel Gabriel. In the importance afforded to Ǧibrīl (Gabriele) we can also read the elegant and allusive praise of the dedicatee. As we know, the work was dedicated to the French ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, who after a long mission to the Levant and many misfortunes in 1547 was nominated by Francis I to the post of official ambassador, ἄγγελος (angel, messanger) to the Sublime Porte (1547–53). We should also recall that Paolo Crivelli's sonnet is based on a reiterated biblical-onomastic metaphor, in which the ambassador is hailed as the new Gabriel, as the messenger sent to the East to establish a new alliance with Süleyman.[14]

After listing the miracles of the Prophet taken from Juan Andrés, Castrodardo tells us the story of Muhammad's journey (*isrāʾ*) from Mecca to Jerusalem and of his ascension into heaven (*miʿrāǧ*), a story spread throughout Europe by numerous sources, among which was the well-known and much-discussed Book of the Ladder. The Latin version of the text, entitled *Liber Scalae Machometi*, translated from the Arabic by Bonaventura of Siena in the middle of the thirteenth century, circulated in a part of the manuscript tradition of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, but it was not published in the printed version in 1543. All that appears in it is the short miʿrāǧ by Ricoldo of Montecroce in the Latin translation, taken from the Greek of Demetrios Kydones (d. c. 1400) by the Dominican Bartolomeo Picerno of Montesardo and published in Rome in 1506. This version is the short summary of a tale that Postel says is "worthy of Apollo" and whose literary value is stressed by Bibliander, who describes it in the margin as being extraordinarily graceful (with an ear to Catullus), and close to Lucian: "Fabula mire lepida, quae cum Luciani Veris narrationibus quoque conferri posset" (A very cute tale that we could compare to Lucian's tales) but for whom he actually makes very little room in his encyclopedia.[15]

Castrodardo proceeds independently with respect to Bibliander's choices. He does not fear the fictional nature of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*. Rather, he is fascinated by it and exploits its potential. In the long introduction he makes room for tales, giving over several leaves to the *favolosa fittione* (fabulous fiction) of the miʿrāǧ. He thus adds the story of Muhammad's ascension to his own companion. He rewrites it, however, according to a new source, the text he has to hand: the *Opera chiamata confusione* by the convert Juan Andrés, whose eighth chapter "tratta del sogno et visione che Machometto dice haver visto quando montò al cielo per una scala e cavalcò lo Alborach; e de le cose che dice haver visto quella notte nel Cielo, et in lo Paradiso, e l'Inferno." The *Alcorano di Macometto* is thus a new work, independent from Bibliander's censures and literary choices. The text reintegrates a text that had been suppressed, and it uses contemporary sources in Italian, freshly printed and available on the Venetian publishing market. Enrico Cerulli has described Juan Andrés's version of the miʿrāǧ and highlighted its great success in Europe, in such authors as Guillaume Postel or Angelo Pientini, overlooking, however, Castrodardo's rewriting of it and its subsequent diffusion.[16]

However, Castrodardo's miʿrāǧ is worthy of note, especially because in this section, more than in others, Castrodardo smooths the traditional antihagiographic and polemical notes related to Muhammad's miracles: Castrodardo erases Juan Andrés's confutation of the miracles of the Prophet Muhammad and makes room for the tale, for the fiction itself. This is the opposite of what occurs in the second and third books of the translation of the Qur'an where the narrative sections are systematically suppressed to make room for the theological messages of the Qur'an.

Castrodardo proceeded in his work buoyed by his fresh knowledge and understanding of Dante, and he interwove the episode with words clearly taken from Dante's *Comedy*. Whereas in the first book he presented the cleansing of Muhammad's heart according to the punishment of the schismatics in the *Inferno*, here he rewrote the journey and ascension of Muhammad using Dante's journey and vision as a lexical and, hence, stylistic framework he could draw from. Here are a few examples of this. Domingo de Gaztelu translates "e da quel cielo montarono al III cielo," following Juan Andrés's "y de allí puyaron al tercero cielo." Conversely, Castrodardo rewrites the sentence and chooses an antique and literary word, borrowed from the poem that he had just finished drafting an edition of: "Da questo montarono alla terza *spera*." Dante often used the word *spera*, both in the *Divine Comedy* and in the *Convivio*, with the technical meaning of *cielo* (sky) according to the principles of Aristotelian-scholastic cosmology.[17]

In another example, in the Italian translation by Domingo de Gaztelu, the voices of the archangel of the seventh heaven "lodavano Iddio de dì e de notte," which, unsurprisingly, is also the case in the Spanish text: "havía un ángel que tenía setenta mil cabeças y en cada cabeça tenía 700.000 lenguas y en cada lengua 700.000 bozes, con las quales bozes alabavan a Dios de día y de noche." In Castrodardo, instead, the angel of the seventh heaven sings in a different way: "e tra questi uno che haveva settanta mila capi con altre tante lingue e tante voci, con le quali laudava Dio *sanza mai restare*." In the *Alcorano* the voices of the angel of the seventh heaven praise God "sanza mai restare," that is to say, never "ceasing" or "interrupting himself suddenly," as in *Inferno* 4: 82: "Poi che la voce fu restata e queta" (After that voice was done, when there was silence) and in *Paradiso* 28: 88–90:

> E poi che le parole sue restaro,
> non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
> che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro.
> (And when her words were done,
> even as incandescent iron will shower sparks, so did those
> circles sparkle; and each spark circled with its flaming ring.)

However, here "sanza mai restare" has a stronger connotation, meaning "without stopping," "uninterruptedly," in a motion of perpetual praise that never ceases, closer to the hellish hurricane in the canto that tells the story of Paolo and Francesca in *Inferno* 5: 31: "La bufera infernal, che mai non resta" (The hellish hurricane, which never rests), from which already in 1544 Castrodardo had borrowed proverbial verses for his Latin translation of Leonico.[18]

Let us now compare the passage with other published contemporary Italian versions of the miʿrāǧ, some of which are well known, while others are less so. In the *Epistola contra Saracenos* (The Epistle Against the Saracens), printed by Alessandro Bindoni around 1520, Paolo Angelo (d. 1568) translated Ricoldo of

Montecroce's *Contra legem Sarracenorum* into Italian. This is how the archangel of the seventh heaven is described in the section entitled "De la fittione de una vision" (On the fiction of a vision): "De li quali alcuno haveva settecento millia capi, et in ciascadun capo settecento millia boche, et in ciascuna bocca settecento millia lingue, et laudavano Dio settecento millia volte de ydiomati," which is a translation of Ricoldo's "quorum aliquis habebat septuaginta millia capita et in quolibet capite septuaginta millia ora et in quolibet ore septuaginta millia linguas laudantes Deum septuaginta mille millibus ydiomatibus." We find something similar in Bartolomeo Picerno's version in Bibliander, which Castrodardo had to hand, but chose not to use: "quorum quisque habebat septuaginta milia capitum, et in quolibet capite septingenta milia ora, et in quolibet ore mille septingentas linguas, laudantes Deum septingentis milibus idiomatibus."[19]

In 1524 Francesco Bindoni, son of Alessandro, published a travelogue by the Franciscan friar Francesco Suriano (Venice, c. 1450–1529), who was the caretaker of the convent of Mount Sion from 1493 to 1495. Here we have a broader variant of the hyperbole that illustrates the perpetual praise of the angels: "E ciascun de questi capi havea setanta millia faze, e ciascuna faza havea setanta millia bocche, e ogni boccha setanta millia lingue, e ciascuna lingua parlava setanta millia linguazi. E laudavano Dio setanta millia hore al giorno."[20]

Enrico Cerulli did not record Suriano's tale. Nonetheless, he did report an earlier Franciscan version, in all likelihood Suriano's source: the mi'rāğ summed up in Roberto Caracciolo's (1425–95) the *Specchio della fede* (Mirror of the Faith,) printed in 1495, and reprinted eight times between 1505 and 1555. The passage in which the angels of the first heaven are described is as follows: "e ogni faza havea sectanta milia bocche, e ogni bocca havea sectanta milia lingue, e ogni lingua parlava sectanta milia linguagi, e laudavano Dio sectanta milia hore dello dì." Cerulli has identified the source as being the Latin version of the Book of the Ladder, which describes the angels of the first heaven as follows: "et quelibet facies habebat septuaginta milia orum et quidlibet os septuaginta milia linguarum. Et quelibet ex linguis illis sciebat septuaginta milia loquelarum et eciam laudabat Deum septuaginta milibus horarum in die."[21]

In short: Paolo Angelo translated Ricoldo of Montecroce, whose source was not Bonaventure of Siena's version of the Book of the Ladder, but more likely the *Contrarietas alpholica* attributed to Mark of Toledo. The Franciscan Francesco Suriano followed the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo, who summed up the *mi'rāğ* from the Book of the Ladder in Latin. Castrodardo moved away from the medieval Latin tradition. He used neither the Latin Book of the Ladder nor Ricoldo's version published by Bibliander, but instead rewrote the text by the Morisco Juan Andrés, translated into Italian by Domingo de Gaztelu: this new and early modern version of the mi'rāğ also comes from the Iberian Peninsula, but it did not stem directly from the Book of the Ladder.

Hence, Castrodardo did not follow the medieval Latin sources of the *miʿrāǧ* that were disseminated until the mid-sixteenth century in Italy: neither the short version by Ricoldo, nor the longer version of the Book of the Ladder. Castrodardo used a new source, in Italian, taken from a text written in Spanish by a Morisco converted to Christianity, and translated by the secretary of the Habsburg ambassador in Venice. A source that he immediately absorbed and rewrote based on his own readings, relaunching it on the European publishing market.

The description of the angels of the seventh heaven continues. This is what Domingo de Gaztelu wrote: "Fra questi angeli vi n'erano molti che sempre mai stavano guardando, senza serrar gli occhi; altri sempre mai erano inclinati con lo lor capo, senza levarsi," translating it from the Spanish text: "Destos ángeles avía muchos que siempre estavan mirando, que nunca cerravan los ojos; otros avía que siempre estavan inclinados con sus cabeças, que nunca se alçavan." Castrodardo reformulated the same passage rather differently: "Alcuni di questi angeli guardavano continuamente in Dio, né altrove rivolgevano gli occhi, alcuni altri li tenivano fissi in terra."[22]

The adjective "fisso" (fom the Latin *fixus*, past participle of *figgere*) occurs only once in the *Alcorano di Macometto*. The way Castrodardo uses it closely recalls the way Dante uses it in his poem. In most of the examples of the poem the adjective "fisso" indicates the particular intensity of the gaze and attention, and it takes on the same value as "fiso," more often used with an adverbial value. For instance, it is used in a figurative sense in *Purgatorio* 19: 118–19: "Sì come l'occhio nostro non s'aderse / in alto, fisso a le cose terrene" (Just as we did not lift our eyes on high / but set our sight on earthly things instead), which recalls "e l'occhio vostro pur a terra mira" (and yet your eyes would only see the ground) of *Purgatorio* 14: 150. Or the use of "fisso" in reference to the eyes of an angel in *Paradiso* 21: 92: "quel serafin che'n Dio più l'occhio ha fisso" (that Seraph with his eye most set on God), and the great effort of looking (with "fiso") in *Purgatorio* 11: 77: "tenendo li occhi con fatica fisi" (fixing his eyes on me laboriously).[23]

The use of the adjective is widespread in sixteenth-century imitations of Dante, in Venetian pro-Ottoman literature in ottava rima, or in prophetic poetry in terza rima. One example of this can be found in the *Itinerario asyatico* (Itinerary to Asia) by the so-called Siptabina Pisano, printed in Venice in 1526:

> Et rapto fui nel Empyreo cielo
> dove ch'in Dio tenni mie luce fixe,
> ma nulla dir mi lice per quel velo.

Little is known about either Siptabina or his text. However, they both warrant further study, perhaps keeping in mind the teaching of Gabriele Trifone and Dante studies in the Veneto in the 1520s, if we take into account the date of publication (1526) and the fact that one of the characters in the initiatory

journey is named "Bassano." Two decades later, in the *Alcorano di Macometto* edited by the Dante scholar Castrodardo, some of the angels continually gaze "in Dio," others keep their eyes "fissi in terra" 'fixing the ground' owing to the excessive light, and still others cover their ears "because here they always sing God's praises." A few lines further down Gabriel lets Muhammad ascend on his own toward a vision of God: "la cui Maestà tanto era riverenda e di tanto splendore, che Macometto udendo alcune voci come quello era Iddio gli parve cader *aggiacciato* in terra per la fredda mano d'Iddio, che toccò l'ombra sua," echoing the version by Domingo de Gaztelu: "E pure dice Machometto che Dio pose la mano sopra l'ombra d'esso Machometto, che non si poteva Machometto sustentare dal gran freddo che usciva della mano di Dio," in turn based on Juan Andrés's original text: "Pero dize Mahoma que Dios puso la mano sobre su hombro de Mahoma, que no se podría tenerse Mahoma del frío de la mano de Dios."[24]

In Juan Andrés's text God places his hand on the "hombro," that is, Muhammad's shoulder, which in Domingo de Gaztelu becomes "ombra" (shadow), as it does in the *Alcorano di Macometto*; and most importantly, Muhammad does not swoon, he does not faint, as he does in Castrodardo's version of the episode. He staggers, but he does not fall. The episode in which God touches Muhammad's shoulder stems from later versions of the tale of the miʿrāǧ and could help us find the sources used by Juan Andrés. However, in Castrodardo, both the "cadere" (to fail) and the "aggiacciato" (to be frozen), the latter used in a figurative sense, are elements that lie outside the early Iberian and Venetian tradition of Juan Andrés's miʿrāǧ (1515–37). They are added in the passage of the text from Domingo de Gaztelu to the *Alcorano di Macometto* (1545–47) as traces of Castrodardo's reading of Dante. See, for example, *Purgatorio* 9: 40–42:

> che mi scoss'io, sì come da la faccia
> mi fuggì'l sonno, e diventa' ismorto,
> come fa l'uom che, spaventato, agghiaccia.
> (such was my starting up, as soon as sleep
> had left my eyes, and I went pale, as will
> a man who, terrified, turns cold as ice.)

or Dante's well-known falls and swoonings caused by a vision in *Inferno* 3: 136: "e caddi como l'uom cui sonno piglia" (and like a man whom sleep has seized, I fell); or by his compassion for the lovers from Rimini in *Inferno* 5: 142: "E caddi come corpo morto cade" (And then I fell as a dead body falls).

In the *Alcorano di Macometto* Dante's *Comedy* serves as a lexical source from which Castrodardo draws, whether consciously or unconsciously, in order to rewrite Muhammad's ascension into heaven. The vocabulary borrowed from Dante's journey (the third "spera," the "fissi" eyes of the angels, the "cadere," and the "agghiacciare") is especially concentrated in this new sixteenth-century version of the miʿrāǧ, which makes up, together with other

strands illustrated here, for the censorship imposed by Bibliander's encyclopedia. After Castrodardo's linguistic filtering, this new Iberian and Italian miʿrāǧ would end up in the hands of new Italian and European readers. One of these readers, as we shall see, would be the sixteenth-century poet and prophet from Lucca Scolio, studied by Carlo Ginzburg in relation to the miller Menocchio.[25]

The use of Dante's *Comedy* in the sixteenth-century Italian translation is certainly not the only case of its kind. Daniele D'Aguanno has shed light on the use of Dante's language by the Benedictine monk from Florence Massimo Teofilo (1509–87) in his translation of the New Testament into the vernacular. It was written between 1548 and 1550 and translated from the Zurich Latin Bible of 1543, edited by Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75) and other theologians. Hence, this is an example of the translation of a sacred text, written by a contemporary of Castrodardo, someone who was associated with the same Venetian circles and was close to both Lucio Paolo Rosello and Cornelio Donzellino. Teofilo translated *ad sententiam*, according to the Ciceronian model also embraced by Castrodardo ever since the letter to the readers in his translation of Leonico. He chooses a classicist and very literary Tuscan language without disdaining the use of antiquated Dantesque expressions such as "bozzachioni," a hapax in Dante's *Comedy* (*Paradiso* 27: 126), which translates "ficus immaturae" (unripe figs). However, in the *Alcorano di Macometto* the presence of Dante's poem is rather more evident: Castrodardo scatters the glossary from the poem throughout the text, and in the paratext he refers to his own argomento about one of its cantos.[26]

THE FLIGHT OF MUHAMMAD AND THE PUNISHMENT OF SIMON MAGUS

The overlaps between the *Alcorano di Macometto* and Dante's *Comedy* do not end here. Actually, the two texts merge once more and often in the same point of convergence: Muhammad's ascension into heaven, a veritable magnetic pole in Castrodardo's knowledge of Dante. In the fifth chapter of the first book, "La vita, i costumi, la forma, la statura e l'oppinioni di Macometto," Castrodardo translates a brief mention of the miʿrāǧ from the *Chronica mendosa*. Here is what the Latin text says: "Emensis autem XVIII mensibus a tempore quo sui factores [fautores] illum ducem atque primatem statuerunt, a Gabriele Archangelo Hierusalem ductus, ab eodem est illic in coelum sublevatus." Next to this is the following marginal note: "De hoc vanissimum commentum in libro *Halmahereig*. Summatim autem refertur a Richardo in *Confutatione Alcoran*," which refers to the Book of the Ladder and to Ricoldo of Montecroce's polemical text, respectively the most famous long and short version of the miʿrāǧ circulating in medieval Europe.

Castrodardo rewrites both the text and the Latin paratext. In the former text he adds the *al-burāq*, the steed that carried Muhammad from Mecca to the temple of Jerusalem. The animal is smaller than a mule, but bigger than a

donkey, as described in Juan Andrés: "Et attorno deceotto mesi dietro fu portato dall'Angelo sopra di uno animale di natura tra asino e mullo. E quindi da quello medesimo rapito in cielo e ritornato in terra." In the marginal note, he expanded the note by Bibliander, again echoing Dante: "Della quale vanissima inventione ci ha scritto Almaberigo, e sommariamente lo riferisce Richardo: e così fusse di lui avenuto come avenne a Simon Mago che si fusse fiaccato il collo, ma non permesse Dio che a Macometto avenisse per li peccati de' popoli." "Almaberigo" transforms the title of a work, "Halmahereig" (*al-ma'ārīğ* [the ladders]), that is to say, the Book of the Ladder, into the name of an author. Even if the marginal note does not explicitely refer to the canto of the Simoniacs, it recalls the long tradition that led to the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno*: Muhammad should have been given the same punishment as Simon Magus, he should have "broken the nape of his neck, or his neck" by crashing to the ground. Muhammad's ascension into heaven recalls the punishment of him who flew aided by Satan across the Roman skies. Here, however, the sin commmitted by this early Christian Icarus is not simony, but, like for Muhammad, the imitation of Christ's ascension. If the cleansing of Muhammad's heart is interpreted in the margins of the book as a sign and *figura* of Muhammad's condemnation among the schismatics, here the ascension into heaven, already rewritten in the introduction according to the vocabulary of Dante's journey, is supported by a paratextual note that is not too different from the one previously illustrated: Muhammad should have been condemned to the punishment inflicted upon Simon Magus himself. Here the overlap is not between Muhammad's and Dante's flights, but between the flight of the two heresiarchs.[27]

This is not the first time that Muhammad and Simon Magus cross paths in European biographies of the prophet. Already in the twelfth-century *Vita Mahumeti* by Embrico of Mainz, the figure of Muhammad/Mammutius was modeled after that of Simon Magus. The Latin text, however, emphasized the magical arts and the forgeries, including his ascension into heaven, by means of which the pseudoprophet Muhammad deceived and ruled his followers. Here, instead, the attention is focused exclusively on the flight, on the hubris of the flight. The brief mention of the mi'rāğ thus triggers a narrative analogy with the punishment of the first of the heretics: from flying heresiarch to flying heresiarch. With no explicit reference to the simony or to the accusation of the corruption of prelates and priests, which turned the canto about the Simoniacs, included in the *Index* of the Spanish Inquisition in 1612, into a reference text, and Dante into a supporter of anti–Roman Catholic reform.[28]

At this point it may be worthwhile referring to a little-known source that can help us to understand the complexity of the relations between Islam, anti-Islamic polemics, and European literature in early modern Europe. Consider the sixteenth-century readers of Juan Andrés, again with their eyes turned toward the Muslim West and the Iberian Peninsula. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, the canon of Valencia Joan Martín Figuerola penned an anti-

Islamic work entitled *Lumbre de fe contra la secta macométicha* (The Light of the Faith Against the Sect of Muhammad) (1519–21), broadly based on the text by Juan Andrés. Both of them were natives of the southeastern Iberian Peninsula; they worked in the region of Granada and, after the death of Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504), they moved their preaching toward Aragon.

Figuerola, like Juan Andrés, knew Arabic, and was "very well-trained in the religious polemic against Islam." He was awarderd the post of "chaplain of the Pope," and it seems he had frequented the Roman court. On the banks of the Tiber, Figuerola was dazzled by the opulence of the pontiff, the cardinals, the bishops, and the priests, as well as of the abbots, priors, and canons, who flaunted their excessive luxury with no concern for "uprooting and destroying the sect of Muhammad." Before such sumptuousness the canon from Valencia, a reader of Juan Andrés and of Dante's poem, just like the canon from Belluno, Castrodardo, recalled the *Divine Comedy*: "y acuerdome, y es de notar, que aquel Dante ytaliano, scriviendo los desordenes de Roma dize: 'Vene Sefas: Vene el gran vexello del spiritu santo: magri et scalsi: pillando el sibo in coluun castello: ormay li moderni pastori vanne: quinsi: quinli ricalsi vane due bestie sota una pelle vestite o pazienzia de Dio que tanto sostene.'" Figuerola quoted *Paradiso* 21: 127–135:

> Venne Cefàs e venne il gran vasello
> de lo Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi,
> prendendo il cibo da qualunque ostello.
> Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi
> li moderni pastori e chi li meni,
> tanto son gravi, e chi di rietro li alzi.
> Cuopron d'i manti loro i palafreni,
> sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle:
> oh pazïenza che tanto sostieni!
> (Once there were Cephas and the Holy Ghost's
> great vessel: they were barefoot, they were lean,
> they took their food at any inn they found.
> But now the modern pastors are so plump
> that they have need of one to prop them up
> on this side, one on that, and one in front,
> and one to hoist them saddleward. Their cloaks
> cover their steeds, two beasts beneath one skin:
> o patience, you who must endure so much!)

In other words he used Saint Peter Damian's (1007–72) invective against the corruption of the church according to the anticurial rhetoric of that day and age. His words assume a distinctive note here: his rebuke was against the clergy who "remained silent" and "dissimulated" while "in the Muslim neighborhood of Spain and in other places" the name of Jesus Christ was taken in vain. Figuerola hurled Dante's *Comedy* against the slothful negligence of the clergy who refused to fight and convert not only the heretics but Muslims and

crypto-Muslims as well. He thus made polemic and pragmatic use of Dante's *Comedy*, as did Juan Andrés. Castrodardo, instead, erased Widmanstetter's anticurial notes in the first book, and in telling the mi'rāğ exploited the fictional and exoticizing potential of Muhammad's ascension into heaven.[29]

We can find another reference to the mi'rāğ in the translation of the Qur'an: in the margin of the twenty-fifth chapter of the third book, which translates Robert of Ketton's *azoara* 63 (Qur'an 53: 6–9), which again alludes to Muhammad's ascension: "[he] stood on the highest horizon and then approached God who taught him everything, despite the fact that he was two bow-lengths away from God." This is the translation of "qui sublevatus ad orizontis celsitudinem, ad Deum ipsum instruentem illum, atque docentem efficaciter, accessit, tanti tamen spacii intervallo, quantum sagitta arcu missa bis transcurreret." Bibliander's gloss to the passage is no more than an internal reference to Ricoldo's version of the mi'rāğ published in the polemical section of the encyclopedia: "Iurat se in coelum raptus, didicisse mysteria haec. Extat inter Saracenos liber ea de re fabulosissimus. Cuius summa recitatur in Confutationibus"—that is to say, Ricoldo's abridgment of the mi'rāğ that we read in the *Contra legem Sarracenorum*. Castrodardo uses the Basel paratext as a model and he added an internal reference to his own translation of the *Chronica mendosa*: "Come vano mendace et empio dice che fu levato al cielo, e là haver parlato con Dio, come nel V. cap. del I. libro."[30]

In fact, Castrodardo follows the paratext printed in Bibliander in the specific references to the Bible, in the quotations from the fathers of the church, in the marginal notes that help the reader find themes through the text, and in the internal references such as in this case. He shifts away from the model when he uses Widmanstetter's cabbalistic annotations (1543) in order to comment on the *Doctrina Machumet* and the text of the Qur'an. Added to all this is what Castrodardo himself brings to the paratext. For example, some notes on the contemporary society: "the Arabs used to live in the countryside just as the Gypsies are used to doing now"; or even personal ones: "as my uncle Pietro Aleandro, who at that time was living in Rome, told me."[31]

Morevoer, the marginal notes that Castrodardo used to refer to Dante's *Comedy* are also a significant paratextual contribution. Among these the most important is undoubtedly the first, which explicitly recalls his work on Dante's *Comedy*: "about this [see] canto 28 of Dante's *Inferno* and my *argomento* on it." Alongside the Dantesque rewriting of the *mi'rāğ*, Piloni's biobibliographical entry about Castrodardo, and the note sent to Apostolo Zeno by Aleandro Castrodardo, this marginal note proves that Giovanni Battista Castrodardo worked on an edition of Dante's *Comedy* and possibly commented more extensevely on it: this work may be lost, but its echo clearly resounds between the lines of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.

It is an echo that resounds with several meanings if one listens to it while thinking about the bitter controversy, one that goes back centuries, concerning the alleged Islamic sources of the *Comedy*. This evocative sixteenth-century

episode would almost lead one to think of a bizarre overlap between Dante's *Comedy* and its alleged Arabic-Muslim sources, in which the *Comedy* becomes the stylistic source of a new, early modern, Iberian and Italian version of Muhammad's journey to heaven. But this is not just an extravagant and isolated case. Castrodardo's miʿrāǧ should be read within the frame of Dante studies and Dante's editions in the Veneto during the political and religious crisis that shook Europe in the 1540s. Morever, Castrodardo's work sheds light on something much more profound: the complexity and richness of Castrodardo's culture as a reader, translator, and editor of texts. Castrodardo's reading included texts written by an Iberian Muslim scholar forced to convert to Christianity. Castrodardo's Dantesque and very Italian reading of the new miʿrāǧ by the former Muslim Juan Andrés, by way of the Italian translation by Domingo de Gaztelu, reveals to what extent the many cultures of the Iberian and Italian peninsulas are intertwined at the height of the sixteenth century and how, through the Venetian printing press, they reached continental Europe.[32]

CHAPTER 6

The Religion of the Italians, or Purgatory and the Qur'an

A Belief and a Place Between Robert of Ketton and Roberto Bellarmino

A LETTER TO DANTE

In 1547 in Mantua, Venturino Ruffinelli published a collection of letters by various authors, followed by an oration by the Mantuan Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene, who was active in the academy of the Argonauti under the name of Oronte, and was very close to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. Printed in the collection, possibly curated by Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene himself, was a letter to Dante by the poet Niccolò Franco (1515–70), a friend and guest of Arrivabene between 1546 and 1547. Owing to the idea that ancient and modern writers were contemporaries, Franco was able to dialogue with Dante, and to send him a letter through such an illustrious letter bearer as Cardinal Bembo, who had recently passed away. With a confidential tone, in line with the facetious style of the letter, Franco referred to Dante as his "uncle" pointing out how Dante's *Comedy* would have been published if Lutheranism had definitively won: "These heretical and dishonest Germans, persevering in their usual negative actions, have ended up humiliating the Church, as they have had your *Comedia* printed in Strasbourg, in Basel, and in many parts of their country, without the canticle of Purgatory, thus leaving only the other two, the first one of Hell and the second one of Paradise."[1]

Franco thus defended the religion of the Italians by outlining the clear boundary between Rome and Luther represented by the space of purgatory and by the system of economic and spiritual power that it had generated. At the same time, he was protecting the tradition that saw Dante as the father of Italian literature and the champion of anticlerical and anticurial criticism, from which many sixteenth-century literati such as Franco, with their vague desire for the reform of Italian society, were not exempt.

While in the long run Franco's letter recalls the mutilation and ideological deformation of many Italian classics, from the Islamized versions of Dante's *Comedy* that deleted Muhammad's punishment in the *Inferno* to Aleksey

Tolstoy's Marxist *Pinocchio*, or to the twentieth-century Maoist *Decameron*, it must above all be read within its political, religious, and literary context. The existence of purgatory in the mid-sixteenth century was in fact a crucial matter: it pervaded doctrinal debates, as well as the discussions of the Venetian artisans around the Rialto Bridge, and it was inevitably interwoven with the world of Italian Dante studies, which in the Veneto drew its lifeblood from the teaching of Gabriele Trifone. Niccolò Franco, ironically, summoned against Luther a few Italian Dante scholars active both in Florence and Venice, such as Benedetto Varchi, Bernardino Daniello and Alessandro Vellutello.[2]

Today, the religiosity of those commentators on Dante is widely discussed and arouses a great deal of academic debate between new disciplinary, confessional, and political factions. Franco chose Italian Dante scholars, and not theologians, as a bulwark to stem the offensive against the literary, theological, and political space of purgatory. This intervention was necessary and could not be delayed: Niccolò Franco himself, in closing the letter he wrote "from the world of 1547," said he was perfectly aware of the fact that even among Italians there were those who envisioned a life in the hereafter without an intermediate state and without a specific space devoted to purification. Among these were the readers of the *Pasquino in estasi* by Celio Secondo Curione (1503–69), which at that precise moment was flooding the publishing market in Italy and the rest of Europe.

Circulating in that world were other visions of life after death that sprang from a widespread prophetic culture and were nurtured by esoteric and exoticizing readings of Dante. Among them was the visionary journey penned by the so-called Siptabina Pisano (1526), rather less famous than Curione's abductions in heaven, and written in Dante's terza rima. After all, in Italy Dante's *Comedy* was the main reference for any vision of the hereafter, in a recurring and indissoluble interweaving of erudite and popular tradition: with or without purgatory, whether of Catholic, esoteric-initiatory, or Hebrew origin.

Among the mid-sixteenth-century Italian visions of the hereafter, as we saw in the previous chapter, there was also the new Iberian and Italian *mirāǧ* rewritten by the Dante scholar Giovanni Battista Castrodardo. The letter to Dante by Niccolò Franco and the dissemination of the visions of Pasquino thus shed light on the context in which the *Alcorano di Macometto* was published. In that "world of 1547," Henry VIII died leaving a considerable amount of money "to persuade the poor . . . to sincerely pray to God for the remission of our offenses," disappointing the British disparagers of the system of indulgences. Niccolò Franco's letter was published in Mantua, the artisans and jewelers of the Rialto discussed the existence of purgatory, and Andrea Arrivabene, who would always stay in contact with Mantua's nonconformist circles, published a new companion to Islam compiled by a young Dante scholar from Belluno. This text, even dealing with God's revelation to Muslims, hit a nerve in the religious and political conflicts that were exploding in

contemporary European and Italian society. Reading the Qur'an, therefore, would have exposed sixteenth-century readers to crucial matters such as justification by faith alone, free will, idolatry and aniconism, the dogma of the Trinity, and Christ's prophetic nature, as well as the geography of the hereafter.[3]

PURGATORY IN THE QUR'AN OF GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASTRODARDO

Hence, we should not be surprised that in "the world of 1547," a Dante scholar who was working for the Venetian publishing business, after having drafted an edition of the *Divine Comedy* with his own argomenti and having absorbed Juan Andres's version of Muhammad's journey into heaven through his readings of Dante, entered the debate concerning purgatory, focusing on a few Qur'anic passages that cast doubt over the possibility for an intermediate space between heaven and hell. In Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's Italian translation of the Qur'an, I will analyze one chapter as an example of the strategy, be it orthodox or dissimulating, used by the Italian Dante scholar to assimilate and domesticate the Islamic hereafter.

As previously stated, over the past century the *Alcorano di Macometto* has been read through the distorting lens of the "deception" to the detriment of the reader by the "dishonest" publisher Andrea Arrivabene, that "Italian impostor." This anachronistic approach, which calls for a code of ethics that a sixteenth-century publisher of popular translations could not possibly have had, has restricted research into this work, relegating it to an example of an extravagant bibliographic rarity and Renaissance curiosity. My intention instead is to look over Castrodardo's shoulder, at his worktable, so as to understand the reasons and methods behind his translation. We know that the second half of the volume was devoted to the Italian translation of the Latin Qur'an by Robert of Ketton (1143). We also know that Castrodardo translated from Bibliander's printed version (1543), following on the side at least one manuscript of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, as has been suggested by Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard and as Castrodardo himself seems to have noted in the margin: "since those barbarian names were not written in Arabic letters, and since they are written in many different ways in all the texts of the Qur'an, both in printed and scribal versions, it is hard to write and pronounce them."[4]

As already stated, Castrodardo carries out three operations while assembling his companion to Islam: an original rewriting of contemporary sources in the introduction, a chronological recomposition of the historical medieval Arabic-Latin texts in the first book, and a reduction by condensation of the Latin text of the Qur'an in the second and third books. Castrodardo's translation is not, therefore, just a thematic and doctrinal summary of the like Widmanstetter's epitome of the Qur'an published along with his version of the *Doctrina Machumet* (1543), but rather resembles the abridgment of an abridgment: it is a condensed text in which the individual textual units of the

suras are, however, respected. In light of an interlinear analysis of the three books some very large sections of text have clearly been omitted in the Italian translation of the Qur'an. In the introduction and in the first book Castrodardo worked by means of selecting among many, diversified texts, summarizing, recomposing, and reordering them chronologically. In the second and third books, however, he closely followed the textual order of his main Latin source, condensing it considerably. He proceeded by cutting broad swaths of narrative passages of the Latin text, while respecting the beginnings and the ends of the individual suras, thus making room for the sections that were theologically crucial and of particular doctrinal interest. He divided the 124 suras of the Latin text, not the 114 original Arabic ones, into two books in Italian, working with the printed version as well as with at least one manuscript to hand. The position of the *fātiḥa* (the sura that opens the Qur'an) as an introductory text (1+123), which in the printed version is instead considered to be the first chapter, seems to be based on a scribal version of the Latin text. The same seems to happen for the names and the rubrics of the Latin suras, missing in Bibliander, which Castrodardo and Arrivabene publish as the first note in the left margin of the text.

Evidence of the use of the Basel edition, as previously demonstrated by Selden and by de Sacy, and closer to our time by Hartmut Bobzin and Thomas E. Burman, is provided by the errors inherited from Bibliander's edition, and the reiterated and numerous misinterpretations that Castrodardo added to his text based on the print edition, which infuriated Joseph Justus Scaliger, and would continue to spread and multiply in the seventeenth-century translations based on Castrodardo's Italian text. For instance, as previously shown, Bibliander read "arca ubi repositae sunt divinae *virtutis reliquiae*" (1: 18, 38–39) where Ketton instead translated "archa ubi repositae sunt divine *virtutes reliquiaeque*." Bibliander thus mistook "virtutes" for "virtutis" and "reliquiaeque" for "reliquiae." Castrodardo's version followed the typographical errors of the printed edition, translating "which contains the relics of the divine virtue of Moses and of Aron"; the subsequent translations would in turn follow the Italian text. Indeed the Spanish version possibly written in Amsterdam in a Sephardic context, which will be discussed further on, translated from the Italian: "el arca en que estan las reliquias de la perfeción divina de Mosse y de Aron."[5]

Rather more evident were the misinterpretations added by Castrodardo himself. For instance, the Latin text translates the Arabic *litundhira 'umma al-qurā* (in order that you may warn the mother of the cities) (Qur'an 42: 7), that is to say, Mecca, with a correct "per quem castiges matrem villarum" (Bibliander 52: 149, 46). Castrodardo misunderstood the passage, and translated "accioché tu predichi e dia le madri per le ville" (so that you can preach and spread the mothers through the cities), annotating in the margin "le madri sono le sue orationi" (the mothers are his sermons), led astray by his memory of medieval rubrics indicating the fātiḥa as "the mother of the Qur'an."[6]

I could go on with this type of analysis, but it would not be very illuminating and it would only reconfirm the allegations of both Selden and de Sacy. I could point out all of Castrodardo's errors in interpretation, most likely caused, here more than elsewhere, by the haste that drove the polygraphs of the Venetian publishing world. Instead it is more constructive to choose a different analytical path and return to the condensation of the Qur'anic text, which can reveal more about how Castrodardo carried out his work. Here it is not the quality of the translation in question, but rather the strategies behind the process of translation itself.

In the first chapters of the second book Castrodardo demonstrates his profound respect for the Latin text, but as he continues to work on the translation he begins to eliminate whole portions of the text more and more freely and visibly. A clear example can be found in the sixteenth chapter of the second book, which translates the azoara 17 of the Latin text, which in turn corresponds to the seventh sura of the original, the *sūrat al-aʿrāf*, that is to say, "the heights," "the crests," where the discussion concerns "the heights" of the wall that divides hell and paradise. Castrodardo condensed the text considerably, squeezing the eight pages of the Latin in-folio into a chapter with just two pages in the Italian in-quarto. As usual, he translated Robert of Ketton's opening rubric: "hic intexit fabulas infinitas de Adan et Eva et Beelzebub et prophetis quibusdam inauditis et de Moyse solita deliramenta et insanias et verba stultissima reiterare non cessans, agitante se spiritu maligno" in the first note in the left margin: "contese favole infinite di Adamo di Eva, e Belzebub, e di alcuni Propheti inauditi, replicando di Mosè le solite menzogne pazzie, e sciocche parole instigato da maligno spirito." But what he actually does is suppress the long narrative parts of the text so that he can instead devote himself exclusively to presenting the doctrinal sections of the sura in his own way.[7]

The strategy is very evident. It focuses on a specific passage of the Latin text concerning al-aʿrāf (the heights), which in the Qur'an is a barrier, a place of suspension, a sort of limbo, not a transitional space of purification such as purgatory (Qur'an 7: 46–49). And he presents his translation by reformulating the Latin text to reveal to the reader—apparently in an anti-Lutheran key, and through the Qur'an—the religious and literary truth of the third place of purgatory. To this end, Castrodardo, as he has done elsewhere, uses both the text and the paratext. He combines the two passages of azoara 17 (corresponding to Qur'an 7: 35–36 and 46) which speaks of the places of the hereafter. The first of these focuses on hell and paradise, the second on the al-aʿrāf, which, actually, in Alessandro Bausani's Italian translation of the Qur'an is translated as "limbo." Here I quote from Abdel Haleem's English translation: "VII 35 Children of Adam, when messengers come to you from among yourselves, reciting My revelations to you, for those who are conscious of God and live righteously, there will be no fear, nor will they grieve—36 But those who reject Our revelations and arrogantly scorn them are the people of the

Fire and there they will remain. . . . 46 A barrier [*ḥiǧābun*] divides the two groups with men on its heights [ʿalā al-aʿrāf] recognizing each group by their marks: they will call out to the people of the Garden, 'Peace be with you!'—they will not have entered but they will be hoping [I prefer: "ardently desire to"] [*lam yadkhulūhā wa hum yaṭmaʿūna*]."[8] These two different passages are expressed as follows in Robert of Ketton's Latin text as we read in the printed edition by Bibliander: "Filii Adae, vobis iam advenit de vobis nuncius, mea praecepta laturus, quibus omnis contradicens et se retrahens, *igne perpetuo punietur*. Timens autem, et obediendo benefaciens, expers timoris atque molestiae *paradisi gaudio perfruetur*. . . . Inter hos quidem et illos, in quodam *quasi limite sublimi stabunt quidam*, discrete scientes horum et illorum facies, qui nequaquam paradisum ingredientes, *sed illud sperando expectantes*."[9] Added to this is a note in the margin that offers a short commentary on the Latin translation "quasi limite sublimi" for al-aʿrāf, adding also "incerti quidam *paradisum expectantes* inter beatos et damnatos *medii*." Robert of Ketton translates with good approximation the term *al-aʿrāf* by using the concept of a very high *limes* (border). But he perhaps overemphasized the "hope" and "expectation" of the souls condemned in the "heights," almost suggesting a clear transitory nature that al-aʿrāf seems not to have had. The Arabic *lam yadkhulūhā wa hum yaṭmaʿūna* is translated "qui nequaquam paradisum ingredientes sed illud sperando expectantes," which pushes the Arabic root *ṭamiʿa fīhi* (to desire ardently), toward "to hope," and to a less likely and accentuated "to wait." Moreover, Bibliander's paratext includes the idea that the *limĕs sublimis* is situated in between the blessed and the damned and not in the very high margin of the space where the damned are: "inter beatos et damnatos *medii*."

At this point, Castrodardo, four centuries after Robert of Ketton and in the midst of the dispute over whether or not purgatory existed, translates the azoara 17 into Italian. He omits the long narrative sections of the Latin text and follows to the very end the path indicated by Robert of Ketton and by his fellows from Cluny: a path that led to purgatorial fire (*ignis purgatorius*) and to the very third space of purgatory. He combines the two Latin passages and adds a third place in between hell and paradise, eliminating the *limĕs sublimis* of the source with the help of the Latin paratext. He thus rids himself of the "quasi limite sublimi" and replaces it with "e tra questi e quelli, come in un termine medio, con speranza et espettatione del Paradiso, vi staranno alcuni altri." He thus transformed an edge, a marginal space, into an intermediate space. Here is the whole passage: "Figliuoli di Adamo, già di voi viene il mio nuntio che porterà i miei precetti. A' quali chi contradirà sarà punito col fuoco del Inferno e il temente anderà in Paradiso, *e tra questi e quelli come in un termine medio con speranza et espettatione del Paradiso vi staranno alcuni altri*."[10] Castrodardo erased the concept of "border, barrier," and especially of "the high margins" of the wall. Instead he used the "termine medio" taken from Bibliander's paratext, and by following both the Latin text and paratext

he decided to stress the idea of "hope" and of the "waiting for paradise" instead of that of the "ardent but desperate desire" to get into heaven while actually waiting for the judgment. At that point the text was ready and Castrodardo could also intervene in the paratext. He thus filled the margins and the bottom of the page with a long and intrusive apologetic annotation on the truth and history of purgatory. This marginal note was taken from Widmanstetter's annotations to his epitome of the Qur'an (1543), hence, from the Latin work of an erudite Catholic Orientalist, versed in Arabic and above all in Syriac, which Castrodardo kept on his writing desk and used extensively. This long annotation covers half of the left margin of the first page and the right margin and the bottom of the second, catching the reader's attention, while the very text of the sura, as we already know, is reduced to a minimum. By using Widmanstetter's text, Castrodardo linked his translation to the erudite and cabalistic tradition of Oriental studies in Rome in the 1520s, a milieu that had been frequented by his uncle Pietro Marenio Aleandro. In Castrodardo's use of Widmanstetter we see the connection between the dissemination of popular literature about Islam and the Ottoman Empire and the erudite European studies in Oriental languages and religious texts. Different genres of a widespread literature about the Islamic world overlap in this text in an unusual formula that will not be repeated in products destined for the general public, as we shall see by analyzing Francesco Sansovino's use of Castrodardo's translation of the *Doctrina Machumet*.

Castrodardo's use of printed marginalia should be food for thought. By abolishing the marginal note on "the heights" by the Reformed Bibliander, Castrodardo followed in the footsteps of a long interpretative tradition, he conducted his own appropriation of the text, and, above all, he clearly chose a different exegetic line: Widmanstetter's Catholic one. Here it is:

> Muhammad learned about Purgatory from the Christians and the Jews. They, following Pythagoras, who believed in the transmigration of the soul, believed that divine justice existed among mortals even after the end of their life on earth. And although Christians believed that original sin was extinguished by Baptism, they still believed it was necessary to purify the remains of evil deeds, which continued to be attached to the soul after repentance, or by their toil on earth, or by the cleansing fire after death. Owing to their fear of the flames of Purgatory, there were some who were baptized right before dying; Emperor Constantine was among them.
>
> As concerns Purgatory we have excellent witnesses from ancient times in the Old Testament, such as the story of the Maccabees. And later witnesses are Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Gregory of Nazanzius, Athanasius, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Marina, sister of Basil, as well as the rites of the Syrians, the Ethiopians and the Romans. Thus, corrupt Christians instead looked to find a solution to put out the fire of Purgatory, which was so useful and necessary to the Church, as can be observed in the many opinions against the heavens and hell.[11]

According to Widmanstetter, Muhammad learned about purgatory from Christians and Jews: it was Islam, then, that assimilated the belief that had already spread in the existence of a third condition of purification, if not of a

third space. Interestingly enough, the marginal note by Castrodardo does not translate Widmanstetter's entire annotation. Castrodardo erased the final passage, which points out the "pastorum cupiditas" and the "ovium malitia" as well as the "optimarum legum dissolutio": the corruption of the church. With just a few changes Castrodardo transformed a very long Latin azoara into a chapter of a mere two pages long, confirming the existence of the third space of purgatory according to the Qur'an. Castrodardo's strategy was twofold: he used both the text and the paratext, manipulating his source and presenting it in a very different packaging: the text is compressed, manipulated, corrupted, deformed, and reassembled to make room for a very long and emphatic apologetic marginal note that, compared with the Latin *notatio*, does not present a final period to the increased and still increasing "pastorum cupiditas" (the greed of the sheperds), that is, of the clergy. The invasive and expurgated paratext thus looms over a text that is limited to serving as just a pretext for the long commentary in the margin. This arbitrary and bold reading unveils the function of the margins of a text, in particular of a religious text: certainly not the place for an innocent interpretation, but a blank territory to be conquered and the frontier of religious factions, or perhaps an orthodox and dissimulating mask, a filter for further political and religious messages, such as the ones expressed by the publisher in the dedicatory letter. Unsurprisingly, the King James Bible (1611) would unleash a debate on printed marginalia that ended with a ban on the addition of any sort of doctrinal or historical comment: "no marginal notes at all to be affixed but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words."[12]

FROM THE ṢIRĀṬ OF THE QUR'AN TO THE IGNIS *PURGATORIUS* OF ROBERT OF KETTON

It has been demonstrated that in early modern British publishing the margins of the text were especially filled in works of religious polemic; and we already know just how difficult it was to publish a Qur'an without the "marginal confutations" in the world of the Ancien Régime, as proven by the Venetian privilege granted to Piero Galese. This long marginal note on purgatory, however, is technically not a confutation, but the confirmation of a Catholic belief through the reading of the Qur'an: it would indeed seem, in "the world of 1547," to be an anti-Lutheran glossa.

This marginal note also reminds us of a subtle and longer-lasting methodology of religious polemic: to unveil one's dogmas or beliefs in the book of revelation of the religious other. Adopting this strategy, polemicists do not just unveil the contradictions and the irrationality of a religious text but by digging into that text, they do find confirmation, whether evident or occult, of the truthfulness of their own faith.

And so we might ask: was this Islamic purgatory all Widmanstetter's or Castrodardo's doing? Did Castrodardo bring to it his method of interpretation

as an Italian canon and as a new Dante scholar? Was it merely an intercultural translation, or was it instead an expedient used to clarify the concept of al-aʿrāf for the Italian and European reader? Or was it just the defense of a literary tradition, a profoundly Italian one? Most importantly, did Castrodardo, the translator, and Arrivabene, the publisher, concur on this point? Castrodardo penetrated a solid tradition of interpretation that could be traced back to the beginnings of the process of the translating of the Qur'an in Europe: he had Bibliander's printed text, at least one manuscript of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, and the annotations by the Catholic Widmanstetter to hand. In this chapter, as in the translation of the *Doctrina Machumet* at the end of the first book, he chose to use Widmanstetter's annotations on the Qur'an. He thus erased Bibliander's paratext, and rewrote Robert of Ketton's Latin text, reshaping it in relation to the new paratext, the true protagonist of this chapter of the second book.[13]

However, returning to the Latin text will assist in better understanding the importance of purgatory in Castrodardo's translation of the Qur'an. The process of assimilating the many marginal and intermediate places of the Muslim hereafter, and therefore their Catholizing "purgatorization," had in fact already begun during the course of the Middle Ages, and especially through the translation of the Qur'an of Cluniac inspiration. We have already examined Ketton's translation of *wa hum yaṭmaʿūna* (but they ardently desire) (Qur'an 7: 46) as "sed illud sperando expectantes," thrusting the concept of "desire" toward the more optimistic ideas of "hope" and "wait" for paradise. The idea of "hope" would also appear in the medieval translation, which was circulating in Italy, by Mark of Toledo: "non introeuntes in eum et sperabant." It would instead be translated differently by Giles of Viterbo: "et *cupiebant* iam ingredi" (they desire to enter). In the same way it was translated by Ludovico Marracci in the second half of the seventeenth century: "non tamen intrabunt in eum, et ipsi nibilominus *avide cupient* intrare" (and yet they ardently desire to enter).[14]

So let us focus on Robert of Ketton and on the mid-twelfth-century Cluniac context, and analyze some passages from the Latin translation. We know that according to some medieval Islamic exegetic traditions hellfire is long-lasting—but not eternal. This belief could have been assimilated by medieval translators, who were collaborating with Iberian Muslims, and it could have even inspired the origin of the belief in purgatory as suggested, for example, by Miguel Asín Palacios. At least one passage of the Qur'an could be quoted in support of this hypothesis. Two verses of *surat Maryam* (19: 70–72) refer to the transitoriness of the fire of hell, which in the twelfth century could have been read in analogy with the still undefined belief of "ignis purgatorius" (purifying fire) and of the newly forming space of "Purgatorium": "70 We know best who most deserves to burn in Hell [*thumma lanaḥnu aʿlamu bi-alladhīna hum awlā bihā ṣiliyyan*] 71 but every single one of you will approach it, a decree from your Lord which must be fullfilled. 72 We shall save the devout and leave

the evildoers there on their knees." Which is translated by Robert of Ketton as follows: "Sciendum quidem neminem esse, qui non ad ignem, quoniam hoc Deus mandavit, proficiscatur, ubi corporaliter etiam increduli perseverabunt. Timentes autem Deum salvabuntur." And annotated by Bibliander in the margin: "Ignem omnes adibunt, sed impii non inde liberabuntur." Castrodardo follows Robert of Ketton's text: "Appresso è da sapere che tutti passeranno per il fuoco, ma gli incredoli vi resteranno dentro e i timenti Dio ne usciranno salvi, e la fede loro sarà da Dio accresciuta." The canon of Belluno did not accept this kind of transition, and in the margin of the page protests against the idea that the devout should shall enter the fire: "vedi che pazzia per che vuole che anchora i buoni vadino nel fuoco."[15]

Moreover, in the Islamic hereafter there exist other elements that have attracted purgatorial eschatological analogies along the centuries. Certainly among these is "the bridge," perhaps stemming from a Persian myth (*činvat*), as thin as a horse's hair and as sharp as the sharpest sword, which everyone must cross on the Day of Judgment in order to know whether they shall enter heaven, or else fall and burn in hell.

The Qur'an never refers to a "bridge," but it does refer several times to *ṣirāṭ* (way or path). The term is generally used to refer to the "straight path" (*ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*), which appears from the fātiḥa onward, and occurs twice in a different sense that is interpreted in the tradition as possible Qur'anic evidence, albeit ambiguous, of the "bridge" in the hereafter. In this regard there are two canonical passages of the Qur'an (36: 66 and 37: 23–24), and the first of these, which is rather vague, is of particular interest: "XXXVI 65 On that Day We shall seal up their mouths, but their hands will speak of Us, and their feet bear witness to everything they have done—66 If it had been Our will, We could have taken away their sight. They would have struggled to find the way [*fa-istabaqū al-ṣirāṭa*], but how could they have seen it?" Comparing the Latin versions with the widest circulation in Italy between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, we discover that they significantly diverge as concerns this passage on the ṣirāṭ (way). Mark of Toledo's literal translation reads as follows: "XXXVI 66 Et si vellemus, oculos eorum obturaremus et desisterent *in via* [*fa-istabaqū al-ṣirāṭa*]. Qualiter ergo viderent?" The translation by Giles of Viterbo and his collaborators does not differ much: "XXXVI 66[64] Et si vellemus, clausissemus super oculos eorum et ivissent *per viam* videndo nihil." Ludovico Marracci similarly follows the same tradition: "XXXVI 65 Quod si vellemus, certe deleremus oculos eorum. Et quidem properantes currerent *per viam*. Sed quomodo viderent?" Robert of Ketton's translation is quite different: he assimilates and rewrites this passage transforming ṣirāṭ literally as "ignis purgatorius," perhaps in analogy with the previous passage on the transitory fire of hell in the sura of *Maryam*. Ketton's translation raises some questions, such as whether he was influenced by Muslim exegesis in the ongoing definition of the "purgatorial fire," or if he followed a specific agenda and "overpurgatorized" the text of the Qur'an. In Bibliander, in fact, we read: "Si

vellemus, oculos vestros clauderemus, ne *purgatorium ignem* transeundum." The annotation reads: "Ignis purgatorius transeundus. De quo superius." Consequently Castrodardo translates the text as follows: "Se noi volessimo vi chiuderemo gli occhi, sì che voi passando *il fuoco purgatorio* non vedreste, mancate voi forse di sentimento?" and his marginal note is "Del fuoco purgatorio dicemmo di sopra."[16]

We do not know whether and by which Muslim tradition circulating in the Iberian Peninsula Robert of Ketton was influenced. We do know, however, that the transitional space of the ṣirāṭ, which is not a space of purification or of temporary punishment, but a place wherein to be judged, triggered an analogy with the intermediate eschatological condition of purification between eternal punishment and eternal salvation that was codified in the same Cluniac context. The ṣirāṭ was transformed into an "ignis purgatorius" (puryfing fire), which, according to its Augustinian tradition, stands in between the "ignis perpetuus" and the "gaudium perpetuum," in most cases simplified by Castrodardo, the Dante scholar, as *Inferno* and *Paradiso*.[17]

The shift from ṣirāṭ to "ignis purgatorius" is anything but neutral.[18] Robert of Ketton penned his translation at a very specific time and in a very specific context: Cluniac monasticism of the mid-twelfth century, that is to say, within the European context and time during which the third space of the Catholic hereafter was being codified, as we are told by Jacques Le Goff, an assertion now called into question by Isabel Moreira. If we agree with Le Goff, this is where the process of codification begins that will lead to the passage from a purgatorial condition (*ignis purgatorius*) to the third and intermediate topographical space of purgation that became stabilized as the century came to an end (*Purgatorium*.) "Meanwhile is the *ignis purgatorius* which is fueled," and its burning coals are ablaze in several genres produced by Cluniac monks: hagiography, polemics, visionary literature, and therefore also Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an. The Congregation of Cluny played a key role in the affirmation of purgatory in Europe owing to the congregation's attention to the liturgy of the deceased and to the system of suffrages certified by the institution of the remembrance of the dead on the second of November. Over the course of the twelfth century, especially in antiheretical literature, purgatory was one of the main focuses of discussion and conflict. A relevant example is the polemic triggered by Peter of Bruys (c. 1095–c. 1131) and Peter the Venerable. The treatise the latter wrote against Peter of Bruys and his followers, the *Contra Petrobrusianos* (1139–41), is a clear example of how important the question of purgatory was. This text had a scribal circulation together with anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic polemics and in some manuscripts along with visionary literature about the hereafter. It was also newly spread during the Council of Ferrara and Florence in the late 1430s, and was printed in 1522 and, interestingly enough, in the early 1530s, and in 1545 and in 1546.[19]

One long chapter of this work, the "Contra id quod dicunt vivorum beneficia nichil prodesse defunctis," specifically focuses on the effectiveness of

and the need for prayers for the dead, on the existence of a condition of purgation after life and the numerous biblical and patristic authorities that would become conventional, stretching as far as Widmanstetter, Castrodardo, and Roberto Bellarmino.

The struggle against the heretics who intend to extinguish the "purifying fire" thus contributes to its assertion and is projected, during the years of the Second Crusade, also in the polemic against the "sect" and the "heresy" of Islam both in the Levant and Iberia. Thus, Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'an (1143) is filled with arguments from the *Contra Petrobrusianos* (1139–41) and contributes to the birth of the space of purgatory.[20] Robert of Ketton's translation is part of a wider project: the attempt to assert the universality of the Latin Church and the defense of its spiritual economy before its enemies both inside and outside the church for which Cluny and its ninth abbot, Peter the Venerable, are the heart of the political and intellectual propulsion.[21]

FROM ROBERT OF KETTON (1143) TO ROBERTO BELLARMINO (1599)

To understand that the beginnings of the process of the creation of an intermediate space of purgation can already be found in the twelfth-century translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton is therefore of interest to anyone analyzing the political, religious, and literary context of the mid-sixteenth century, and is reflected in a translation of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Robert of Ketton's translation of 1143 already presents a first "purgatorized" hereafter, it being of Islamic origin or of a Catholicized Islamic origin. This is the Muslim hereafter that was available to sixteenth-century readers who sought confirmation of their own beliefs in the revelation of others.

We should not be surprised, then, by the success of Cluniac literature amid the conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in the mid-1540s. The *Contra Petrobrusianos* was published in 1545 and in 1546, the *Corpus islamolatinum* by Robert of Ketton and his fellow translators in 1543, and it was dismantled and reassembled in Italy in 1547. Here, the process of "purgatorization" was eventually completed by the Dante scholar Castrodardo, and it did not just affect the passage referring to the ṣirāṭ but more importantly another sensitive point: the *limĕs* of the al-aʿrāf, now translated with a vague and very purgatorial "come in un termine medio" (like in an intermediate space) and commented on at length in the margin with Widmanstetter's annotation on the history of purgatory.

However, the Renaissance history of the Islamic purgatory does not end with Castrodardo's work. There were similar arguments in England in the 1530s, for instance, in the fictional dispute on purgatory by John Rastell (c. 1475–1536), brother-in-law of Thomas More (1478–1535) and bitter enemy of the Reformed William Tyndale (d. 1536), who it seems was a reader of Giles of Viterbo's Latin Qur'an. One of the two contenders of the theological question

was a Turkish Muslim: *A New Boke of Purgatory Whiche Is a Dyaloge et Dysputatyon Betwene One Comyngo an Almayne a Christen Man, et One Gynaemyn a Turke of Machomett Law* (1530). Or in Spain, soon after the Lutheran schism. Here, the intermediate places of the Muslim hereafter were discussed and refuted, for example, in the text already mentioned in relation to Dante, the *Lumbre de fe contra la secta macométicha* (1519–21) by Joan Martín Figuerola of Valencia. Figuerola, in discussing the passages about the ṣirāṭ and the al-aʿrāf, rejected the Muslim exegetic tradition that identified them as transitory spaces of waiting or purification and instead defended the only purgatory possible: the Roman Catholic one. Figuerola affirms that the commentators of the Qur'an say that "entre el Infierno y el Paraiso ay un camino muy estrecho que se dize *Azerat* por el qual passan todos los buenos sin caer," and they add that "que este camino es muy estrecho y que todos an de passar por el y los salvados: pero los danyados luego que empiesan de caminar cahen y van al Infierno," but this is only a "frívola ymaginación," as the true "path" only exists in "las buenas obras" to reach the glory of the heavens and "las malas para hir al Infierno." In another passage Figuerola discusses the heights of the al-aʿrāf, mixing the "heights" with the "way" as thin and sharp as a sword: "dizen los glosadores aquellos que estaran sobre el muro, el qual esta entre el Paraiso y el Infierno, son aquellos que esperan de purgar sus peccados y assi dizen que este muro es el purgatorio, y dize Mahomet en la Zuna que este muro es tan angosto como un corte de espada del qual nunca Mahomet habla." Figuerola deals with this topic the same way Castrodardo does, that is to say "en respeto de algunos malos cristianos que lo niegan como son los luteranos y otros hereges," against which he advances, as was common, "algunas autoridades de la Sagrada Scriptura." However, his strategy is slightly different from Castrodardo's: he refutes the alleged Qur'anic purgatory without seeking any doctrinal confirmation of his own belief in the Qur'an. In other words, according to Figerola, purgatory does exist but it is not the one in the Qur'an: purgatory is the "lugar dedicado" of the medieval theologians, that is to say, the third place of purification codified in the course of the twelfth century. Figuerola refers to the *Four Books of Sentences* by Peter Lombard (d. 1160): "Portanto dezimos que el purgatorio es *lugar dedicado* segun los doctores theologos dizen en el quarto de las *Sentencias* y no es aquel camino que dize Mahomet, que es estrecho como corte de espada por el qual an de passar y si caen de aquel van al Infierno y si passan drecho van a Paraiso." The Latin *auctoritates* are opposed to the Muslim commentators of the Qur'an. Among the various commentators he knew, Figuerola often quotes "Buzamamim," that is, Ibn Abī Zamānīn of Elvira (d. 1008), and especially "Azamaxeri," the Persian Muʿtazilite al-Zamakhšarī (1075–1144), and "Benatia," that is, Ibn ʿAṭiyya (1088–1151) of Granada. They were the most authoritative commentators on the Qur'an, which had been circulating in the Iberian Peninsula since Robert of Ketton's day, some of them translated into *aljamiado* and widely used in early sixteenth-century Iberia,

hovering between the community of Moriscos and anti-Islamic polemicists: they were read by Juan Andrés, by the inquisitor bishop Martín García, by Juan Gabriel de Teruel, translator of the Qur'an for Giles of Viterbo, and by Figuerola himself.[22]

In short, purgatory was both a topical and controversial subject. The Lutheran schism had been caused by the indulgences and the system of spiritual economy that a transitional condition of purification had provoked. The comparison with Muslim beliefs, for this and other crucial issues, such as the Trinity or the use of violence in religious conflict, was always present and vital in the sixteenth century, in England, as well as in Spain, or in Italy. Both Figuerola and Castrodardo turned their attention toward the text of the Qur'an, they aimed at the ṣirāṭ and especially toward the al-aʿrāf.

But there were also those who focused their polemical attention on different eschatological traditions. One of them was the Dominican friar Angelo Pientini of Corsignano, who toward the end of the sixteenth century compiled a confutation of Islamic dogmas in 1588, later republished under the title of *Alcorano riprovato* (1603). The book was addressed to the Muslims circulating in Italian and other European ports: "those who singularly, and they are almost innumerable, continually practice their worship in the cites of Christians," that is, "in Ragusa, in Venice, in Ancona, in Naples, in Messina, and in Palermo." Moreover, based upon previous anti-Islamic polemics, particularly from the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, this book participated in the diffusion of Muslim dogmas throughout Europe via polemical literature. Pientini also reflected at length on the matter of purgatory, and the target of the controversy was once again both the Protestants and the followers of Islam. According to Pientini, to escape Origen's theories on salvation, Waldesians went so far as to deny purgatory: "Waldesians attempted to avoid Origen's error, according to whom the penalties generated by the punishment of sins were only temporal and expiatory, so they ended up making the opposite error by asserting that Purgatory does not exist." With them the Muslims also took a fall: "and among others, the Muslims erred in the same way as well." Muslim beliefs are summed up in Pientini's book by a fictional disputant, "a certain Turk, named the Caliph of Babylon, his soubriquet being Califa, a man of great intelligence, good culture, and very rich": "The opinion of the Saracens, in short, is limited to two points. The first point is that they do not believe there is a place called Purgatory until Judgment Day. And they base this opinion on another idea, i.e. that souls are neither punished nor rewarded until they are reunited with their bodies. The second point is that when the Last Judgment ends, those persons who cleanse themselves of their sins, which are not so serious as to determine damnation, will stay in hell as long as it takes for them to be perfectly cleansed." Pientini followed a tradition that differed from that of Figuerola and Castrodardo. He doesn't mention the text of the Qu'ran, and he doesn't in the least refer to either the ṣirāṭ or the al-aʿrāf. Instead, he seems to hark back to a state of suspension between the moment of death and the Last Judgment, and

to the idea of a barrier (or *barzakh*) that prevents the deceased from returning to earth. Also, he briefly refers to the so-called *ʿaẓāb al-qabr* (punishment of the grave) that the sinner is subjected to as he awaits judgment on earth, a motif that was widely diffused in sixteenth-century Iberian *aljamiado* literature. Though Pientini believed there was a chance for purgation on earth, according to Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), he denied the existence of purgation in hell, instead forcefully asserting the doctrinal topography of the third place of purgatory. He wanted to clear up any possible confusion: "Furthermore, by *purgatory what is meant is the place* where the souls are sent and where they stay until they have paid for their sins and are thus perfectly purged. And this *place*, according to divine will, for some souls is in this world. But strictly speaking, the word *Purgatory* refers to a *place located in the middle of the earth* close to Hell, where souls are sent regularly to expiate the sins they did not pay for in this life."[23] There are some who may have received a divine dispensation and succeeded in purging their soul on earth, *in saeculo* as theologians say. But, "strictly speaking," purgatory is a place at the center of the earth close to hell. Evidence of this topographical and spiritual truth, Pientini suggests, would be found in the hagiographic and visionary literature produced by the Congregation of Cluny. Pientini sends us to Cluny, again: "many write that Pope Benedict VIII [d. 1024], soon after his death appeared before a bishop of Porto and told him that thanks to the prayers of devotion of the Cluniac abbot Odilone, a man who was loved by God, he had been freed from the danger of eternal death; the Pope beseeched Odilone and asked him to help him with God through his holy orations to leave the burning flames of Purgatory."[24]

Cluny's purgatory was still very much alive in the course of the sixteenth century through the new diffusion in print of old hagiographical and polemical works, and of Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an. While Pientini, in his discussion of purgatory, did not speak of the Qur'an explicitly, Figuerola and Castrodardo instead chose a polemical line with a scriptural base. Figuerola based his confutation on the text itself, indicating the contradictions and the irrationalities of the text of the Qur'an. Conversely, Castrodardo, following the process of assimilation and domestication of the Qur'an begun by Robert of Ketton, chose to find an eventually well-defined Muslim purgatory, not too different from the Roman Catholic one, in the Qur'an itself by means of the textual and paratextual rewriting of an entire sura. This second polemical strategy *iuxta Scripturam* in part runs parallel to the sixteenth-century ideological and confessional archaeology: Christian truth is hidden and unveiled in the space of the text and in the same way in the Southern Iberian urban space that was undergoing reappropriation and re-Christianization by the Spanish Crown.[25]

We are faced with a clearly successful long-term strategy that would invest the anti-Islamic polemic of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino at the end of the century. In his third general controversy *de Purgatorio* (1599), Bellarmino

defends purgatory strenously and with all his scriptural and patristic *auctoritates*, including "Petrus Cluniacensis in libro contra Petrobrusianos" as well. And he adds to it, based on "natural reason" and common sense, also some parallels with the Jews, Muslims, and pagans. According to Bellarmino, the subject is truly incontrovertible if we consider it under a natural light, common to everyone, whether pagan or Muslim. As for the Muslims proof can clearly be found in the Qur'an, a text that professes the existence of purgatory: "Purgatory is expressly acknowledged in the Qur'an." But which Qur'an is Bellarmino talking about? We now know that the Qur'an which made it to the doctrinal system codified by Bellarmino is a text that from the beginning of its journey through Europe underwent a constant process of domestication, and that in its most successful line of diffusion, that is, in the European circulation of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, it gradually assimilated, combining some plausible and some very dubious doctrinal analogies about the hereafter, the belief of purgatory until it became proof, whether proper or improper, of its existence. The anti-Islamic polemics produced in the circles of Propaganda Fide in Rome would be based on the same strategy of reading religious texts. Catholic polemicists, in fact, would later look for further evidence of the existence of purgatory in Eastern Christian and Hebrew texts, as well as in the exegetic tradition of the Qur'an itself.[26]

FROM THE "INVENTIO" OF CATHOLIC BELIEFS TO THE "IRRISIO" OF THE QUR'AN

Finally, the analysis will turn to the *inventio*, that is the "finding" and "invention" of Catholic dogmas or beliefs in the Scripture of a religious opponent as a sixteenth-century polemical strategy. This polemical strategy is founded on the *argumentum ad rem* of classical rhetoric, and it follows the model of medieval polemicists that confuted the Qur'an using the text of the Qur'an itself. But the followers of the *inventio* did not just unveil the contradictions and the irrationality of a fake revelation, rather, they discovered the truths of their own religion hidden in the book of revelation of the religious opponent. They employ forgery and philology, cunningness and elegance, linguistic analysis and theological plagiarism. An enlightening example of this method is Bartolomej Georgijević's reading of the Qur'anic phrase called *basmala* ("In the Name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Giver of Mercy"), which is inscribed and recited before each sura except the ninth. According to Georgijevič's reading, the *basmala* hides the dogma of the Trinity. This argument could have been used against Muslims as well as European Antitrinitarians who were denying the Trinity, fascinated by the Islamic dogma of the *tawḥīd* (the Oneness) of God.[27]

This polemical strategy could be dangerous, though, because it could legitimize the text of the Qur'an as a true revelation, even if a Catholicized one. The polemical strategy of the *contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum* 'against the Qur'an by means of the Qur'an,' sometimes described through the Latin

motto *tuo te gladio iugulo* 'I cut your troath using your own sword,' surely led to a greater knowledge of the Qur'an and its exegetes, but at the same time it raised the concern of the church. For two reasons: because polemicists acknowledged the Qur'an as having the status of a text, and also because they enabled the text to circulate among Christian readers.

The legitimization and circulation of the text of the Qur'an were considered dangerous. However, there were those who suggested other, and perhaps more effective, strategies. In the Venetian edition of the *Tractatus zelus Christi contra Iudeaos Sarracenos et infideles* by Pedro de la Caballeria (1592), the author affirmed that "we should read and read again that book, and confute and attack it with solid arguments." The Dominican annotator Martín Alfonso Vivaldo (1545–1605), professor at the Spanish College in Bologna, replied in the marginal note: "Actually I think it would be more appropiate to deride, despise and neglect the text istead of reading it. [Muhammad's] book should not be read, but derided, insulted and, wherever it is found, it must be burned." Much better to burn than read the sacred text of Islam, which is not at all "sacred" nor should be legitimized and analyzed insofar as it is "a text."[28]

The concept of derision was repeated by Giovanni Botero in his *Uffizio del Cardinale* (Office of the Cardinal) (1599), at the same time Cardinal Bellarmino was proving the existence of purgatory according to the Qur'an:

> In this work we must not, by means of a careful choice of arguments and discussions, confute the law and doctrine of Muhammad; rather, we must joke about it and deride it with good deeds and jokingly. As it is easier to make it seem mad and ridiculous (as it is) rather than irrational and poorly founded. And if you wish to confute it with the force of arguments, you will legitimize it and will not be understood owing to the ignorance of the Muslims. But you will easily deprive it of credit and authority by showing the trivia and foolishness it is filled with, and you will thus succeed in throwing it to the ground. And if Erasmus by mocking sacred things and the precepts of the Church opened the door to Luther's heresy, how easy will it be to scorn Muhammad's law, which by nature is filled with madness and dreams? And if in the work we add easy and jocular verses, filled with popular language and proverbs, we can even hope for a better result.[29]

Thus, Botero moves closer to the *irrisio* (irrision, mockery) than to the confutation of a text, suggesting the systematic delegitimization of the adversary, the discrediting of the political and religious enemy, by means of a subtle and effective rhetorical strategy that continues to pervade the political discourse of the present day. Botero, moreover, rather pragmatically suggested as a model the method of Erasmus and proposed the anti-Socratic *argumentum ad personam*.

Leaving aside the polemical marginalia, be they orthodox or dissimulating, the following chapter will return to the analysis of the long introduction to the *Alcorano* and further examine the historiographic and political culture of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo. It will augment the analyses on Dante and the *mi'rāǧ* in Chapter 5 and purgatory in the Qur'an in this chapter by delving

into the more recondite levels of interpretation.

CHAPTER 7

Scribendae Historiae Gratia

The Oration of Sergius the Monk to the Prophet Muhammad

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ORATORY IN ITALIAN

We shall now leave aside the analysis of the exoteric peritext, of the evident and exposed annotations in the margins of the book. In the previous chapter these annotations were analyzed as the tools of the cultural domestication of the sacred text of Islam. We could also read the printed marginal notes esoterically: the paratext in fact worked as a polemical apparatus, something that was necessary if the work was to be published, functioning to convey the text of the Qur'an to a wide readership and, less overtly, political and diplomatic messages to the more astute readers.

Whereas Chapter 5 analyzed the literary culture of Castrodardo the Dante scholar, and Chapter 6 the Italian religion of the canon, this chapter will focus on Castrodardo the historian and the political theorist. The introduction to the *Alcorano di Macometto* and especially Muhammad's biography "tratta dall'historie di Christiani" again provide the evidence for analysis, which will endeavor to understand how Castrodardo recontextualized the biography of the Prophet of Islam.

We should not overlook that Castrodardo edits the life of Muhammad twice. In the first book he recomposes the Arabic-Latin *Fabulae Saracenorum* published by Bibliander, while in the introduction Castrodardo writes a new text with biographical materials taken from many sources, essentially contemporary ones, which he then stitches together and applies to a textual background consisting of the new biography of the Prophet attributed to the former Muslim Juan Andrés (1515). It was in this section of the text that we read Castrodardo's Iberian and Italian miʿrāğ. But it also provides other clues sufficiently detailed to help understand Castrodardo's political culture.

The section is the long and very rich Renaissance oration that Castrodardo has the Christian monk Sergius/Baḥīrā (Syriac *bĕhīrā* [the chosen]) utter. According to Islamic biographies of the Prophet this character acknowledged the mission of the young Muhammad, but then in the Christian and medieval Latin legend of Muhammad he became a heretic who, banned from Costantinople or Rome, was given asylum and the chance for revenge under

Muhammad's protective wing. In the *Alcorano di Macometto* Sergius, a character who does not appear in Juan Andrés's polemical text, tried to convince the emerging leader of the Arabs to dethrone Emperor Heraclius I (575–641) and take power over a decaying Byzantine Empire, especially by means of a pragmatic use of simulated religion. The oration is a lengthy one. It consists of three full and well-written pages, no doubt unusual in terms of style and breadth in a text of religious polemic, but one that is definitively not out of place in a Renaissance pocket companion to Islamic and Ottoman history. As we shall see, this oration is based on an identifiable source and clear rhetorical models. It was also based on a specific political vocabulary, which is laden with meaning if analyzed through the diplomatic and political context within which the *Alcorano di Macometto* was written.[1]

An old suggestion put forward by Alessandro D'Ancona (1834–1915), which went unheeded for years, leads us into analysis of the oration. D'Ancona, as we know, owned an exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, now held by the University Library in Pisa, and in one of his most famous essays, which paved the way for research on the image of Muhammad in Europe, he pointed a finger at those three pages: "and the sixteenth-century oration is a singular element present in this writing three pages long, through which our Nestorian monk persuades Muhammad to found a new religion."[2]

Let us follow D'Ancona's indication in light of the new discoveries. Once Castrodardo has been identified and a first portrait of him sketched, it is unsurprising to find an oration in a new biography of Muhammad compiled by a translator of history books and municipal historian. During the 1540s, in the intellectual circles in which Castrodardo moved, the classics of Greek, Latin, and humanistic historiography were being translated. Thucydides, Polybius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Flavius Blondus, Pius II, and Antonio de Guevara are just some of the authors whose works were undergoing translation, and the contemporary models of Paolo Giovio and Machiavelli were being circulated. The protagonists of the *translatio* in the vernacular of classical and humanistic historiography were printers and editors close to Castrodardo. Suffice to recall Domingo de Gaztelu, Ludovico Domenichi, Andrea Arrivabene himself, and above all Tramezino's stable of writers, where Castrodardo himself worked as a translator of history books, along with Mambrino Roseo of Fabriano (d. 1584) and Giovanni Tarcagnota of Gaeta (1518–66).

This translation process, along with the new success of epistolography, also involved the recovery of classical speeches and orations. Paolus Manutius, in 1546, dedicated an edition of Cicero's *De Oratore* to the French ambassador Jean De Montluc, and in 1549 Demosthenes's *Philippics* to his successor Jean de Morvillier. Alongside the classical models, texts on the art of oratory in Italian were also being composed in those years, and anthologies of discourses were being published. There are countless possible examples: from Giovanni Maria Memmo's 1545 *L'oratore* to the anthology of *Orazioni diverse* printed in Venice in 1546; from the Florentine one by Anton Francesco Doni published in

1547 to the *Orazioni militari* or *In materia civile e criminale* by Remigio Nannini (1521–81), to Francesco Sansovino's 1561 *Diverse orazioni*, works that were to become the canon of oratory in Italian in the second half of the sixteenth century. Sergius's speech before Muhammad can thus be identified as an oratory exercise that appeared in a section of the book devoted to early Islamic history. It was a long, rich, and complex speech that contemporary readers, according to Peter Burke, would have read the way one listens to an aria, but also as a channel to a renewed vision of the Prophet of Islam and to political and diplomatic messages hidden beneath the veil of the pre-Islamic context.[3]

Indeed, while with Sansovino's exemplary anthology epideictic and academic oratory would prevail, the speech by Sergius, the early Islamic mask behind which Castrodardo hid, belonged to the civic rhetoric or deliberative genre (*genus deliberativum*), whose purpose was to persuade its public to take action. This was no doubt a fictional oration, but it was wholly addressed to move contemporary readers.[4]

FROM BERNARDO GIUSTINIAN (1492) TO LUDOVICO DOMENICHI (1545)

Digging into Renaissance oratory and translation of historical works, we find that the source of the oration has been identified in the context of the partnership between Andrea Arrivabene and Bernardino Bindoni. Knowing this helps us to understand Arrivabene's world as well as Castrodardo as a reader and thus the very nature of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Most importantly, having the direct source of the speech at hand, we can easily unveil what Castrodardo himself added to the oration, just as he did to the fabulous tale of the miʿrāǧ.

Castrodardo was a reader and translator of history books from Belluno, and his source lies in the historiography of the Republic of Venice. In 1545 Bernardino Bindoni published Ludovico Domenichi's Italian translation of the *De origine urbis Venetiarum* (On the Origin of Venice) by the Venetian historian and diplomat Bernardo Giustinian, published posthumously in the first months of 1493 and later reprinted in 1534. The work comprised fifteen books, brimming with humanistic orations, and it contains, as we read on its title page, "not only the deeds of the Venetians, but also the wars of the Goths [books 4 to 6], the Lombards [book 7], the Saracens and the Turks [book 8 and 11]." These were the powers that the Republic of Venice faced during the first centuries of its glorious history. Among them, Islam was particularly interesting because no religious sect or great empire had spread so fast and so broadly before, "a thing which is indeed especially remarkable" to Giustinian and consequently worthy of being analyzed. Book 8 is devoted to the rise of Islam. Giustinian approaches this topic through both political history and protoethnography: he is interested in the military history of early Islam and in the nature and the customs of the Arabs.[5]

Castrodardo, the historian, thus turned to the historiography of his own republic in the same way he would do when telling the stories of the bishops of Belluno in the 1560s. Here, Castrodardo rewrote a speech overflowing with political pragmatism that explicitly communicated an image of Muhammad that was different from the one promoted by the polemical texts. Bernardo Giustinian, Castrodardo's source, was in fact concerned with revealing his readings and his agenda. At the beginning of book 8, he admits that he did not find sufficient information about the origin of "the sect of Saracens." He also states that "among our books, however, there are later commentaries written by scholars devoted to sacred books." But, he continues, "they wrote them not in order to write history, but with the aim of refuting their errors" ("non tam scribendae historiae gratia, quam eius confutandi erroris," or as Domenichi translated, "non tanto per scrivere historia, quanto per confutare quello errore"). Giustinian intentionally "decided not to follow these writings": he put religious polemic aside and used Strabo and Solinus for the nature and the customs of the Arabs, and Paul the Deacon for the later conflicts of Venetians against both Saracens and Lombards. He was not interested in confuting Muhammad's prophecy or pseudoprophecy: all he wanted to do was explain how Muhammad gained power. His interest was historical and political, not polemical or religious. Giustinian wasted no time with the *Fabulae Saracenorum*, which were suited for children and elderly women. Anyone wanting to read them on their own could find them in the Qur'an: "we could not even tell them to children and old women," he continues, "so, I didn't report them because they are a waste of time. But if someone wants to read them, then he should read the Qur'an." This was so because Muhammad had not gained power with the "favole" but rather with the political "arti" and "consigli" of Sergius the Monk: "these arts and these suggestions, much more than any hope that could have attracted him with flattery, expanded his empire, which was not expanded by those things that some writers narrate in a fabulous fiction." Giustinian essentially focuses on Muhammad's "arts" and "methods" of acquiring and mantaining power. He discusses the effectiveness of Muhammad's political and military strategies, not the truthfulness of his prophecy.[6]

Castrodardo's rewriting of the oration by Sergius the Monk thus traced the strategies of Bernardo Giustinian. Giustinian's choices, in fact, shed light on the choices of Castrodardo himself. Along with the ethnographic texts on the Ottoman East and the polemical works coming from Iberia, Castrodardo read a Venetian historian who analyzed the advent of Islam politically.

THE CAESARIZATION OF THE PROPHET

In the fifteenth century and early decades of the sixteenth century, a particular process was under way in historical writings. This process was rooted in the medieval chronicles, and it flourished in several directions after Machiavelli. I

would call this process the "Caesarization" of the Prophet, and it would lead to Muhammad the legislator and the impostor of the eighteen-century French philosophers and European libertines, all the way to the Muhammad discussed by Raskol'nikov's article in Dostoevskij's *Crime and Punishment*. The rise of the Ottoman Empire, the new French and Spanish presence in Italy, the affirmation of the *signori*, and the deeds of the great captains during the Italian wars, as well as the diffusion of universal history and of the biographies of illustrious men, encouraged Italian intellectuals to recontextualize the life of the Prophet of Islam. Especially in historical writings there was a decisive shift in the life of Muhammad from the medieval antihagiography of the dirty pseudoprophet to the imperial biography of the legislator, of the *conditor legis* (the founder of religion). The biography of the Prophet Muhammad migrated from religious polemic and the paratext of Qur'anic translations to chronicles, universal histories, and then the lives of illustrious military captains. Frequently, Muhammad left the company of hideous heresiarchs and brutish pseudoprophets to join Roman generals and Ottoman rulers.

Muhammad was now given a new place among the Caesars. His antibiography could be read among the *vitae Caesarum* and it was an introduction to Ottoman genealogies. Muhammad was no longer just a man of religion; he was above all a man of arms, the founder of a new law and of an empire. He went from being anti-Christ to anti-Caesar. Indeed, the displacement of the life of Muhammad from religious polemic to historiography, to a certain extent already under way in late medieval historiography as indicated by Margaret Meserve—legitimized Muhammad as military leader and founder of a law that would lay the foundations for the Ottoman Empire. This occurred because of the great humanists of the time, and because of the polygraphs who translated and rewrote their works. See the well-known Muhammad of the *Enneades* by Marco Antonio Sabellico (1436–1506), and the less-known Muhammad of the *Vitae Caesarum* by Bernardino Corio (1459–1519), or that of the abridged lives, of "lucid brevity," as their publisher Marcolini would put it, in the *De Caesaribus* by Giovanni Battista Egnatius (1478–1553). Let it be perfectly clear: the process under way among historians, and in the political orations of the humanists, did not uproot and replace religious controversy: it developed in parallel and often overlapped. And it certainly must not be described as a teleological and linear movement, but a bumpy one with leaps forward, and bristling with dead ends, twists and turns, and sudden diversions. The humanistic biographies of Muhammad are therefore characterized by the continuous reuse of materials taken from medieval polemical sources. This endless rewriting of the same stories and exotic wonders led scholars to underscore the continuity of Muhammad's portrait in different genres and across time, instead of unraveling its discontinuities. The differences are often read in the neutralization of a polemical motif, in the backward presentation of an anecdote, and they are nestled in very short details, in the flash of a simile. So it is within this process,

and especially but not exclusively in historical writings, that the motif of religious simulation and the political use of religion emerges several times and begins to take on a new meaning.[7]

SIMULATED RELIGION

While in his rewriting of the miʿrāǧ Castrodardo reinforced its fictional nature to the detriment of religious polemic, here, behind the smug exercise of an oration, he preferred the political analysis of Muhammad's deeds, reflecting on the "arts" or on the different "ways" (the "modi" of Machiavelli) to gain and maintain power. In his new version of Sergius's speech Castrodardo paints the image of a sixteenth-century orator. Little did it matter that Sergius was a Syriac monk or a Nestorian in flight from Constantinople. It was of much greater interest to present the monk as an eloquent, shrewd, and fascinating speaker.[8]

But what especially interests me is Castrodardo's reworking of Muhammad's portrait. This new, and very Machiavellian, Muhammad was an armed prophet who used both violence ("le armi") and simulated religion ("simolata religione") to gain and mantain power. Indeed, Castrodardo's version of Sergius's speech reveals his reading of the *Prince* and *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livy*. This should come as no surprise, considering the Venetian context in which the *Alcorano* was written and circulated, where "there was plotting and there were reforms of a political-religious nature, [and] Machiavelli and Valla's popularity flourished once more, as did that of the excommunicated Saint Savonarola." Suffice to recall the works of Antonio Brucioli and Lucio Paolo Rosello and the dissemination of Machiavelli's works among the sympathizers with Calvinism in Vicenza. Or recall the English agent Guido Giannetti from Fano, a reader of Machiavelli's works and among the first possible readers and owners of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.[9]

Returning to close examination of the oration: thinking about Muhammad's "modi" (ways), Sergius the Monk recalls "the happy successes of the great lords who, starting from very low conditions, with the help of simulated religion managed to achieve the highest level." In Sergius's *argumentatio*, the leader of the Arabs came to power by achieving "fama" (fame) through military prowess. However, the monk had something else in mind for Muhammad's future: a more solid strategy, a more efficient plan. The use of violence ("le armi") was, of course, necessary if one wanted to avoid "ruinare" (going down hill, failing), but Sergius had some more useful advice "that will help you even more, that you cannot even imagine, and that even your weapons [*le armi tue*] cannot give to you." And he exhorted Muhammad as follows:

> Hor ecco come da un de' lati tu vedi la mano che ti porge la felice tua fortuna, resta mo mostrarti come habbi a pigliar l'altra et abbracciarla, con le quali medesimamente ti brama nel suo seno e ti fa di lei padrona, dove che a te altro non resta se non che non le manchi alle cose che ella ti ministra. Però io per non mancarti, ti issorto e ti consiglio che

co'l mezzo della religione ti facci di tal *auttorità* che non solamente tu sii per quella riverendo ma una maestà anchora, *come principal parte che si richiegga a' maneggi de' popoli*, i quali malagevolmente si ponno contenire sanza di quella, aggiungendo arte et ingegno a riconciliarti i popoli e ciò più facilmente ti potrà riuscire quanto meno temerai di opporti loro. Il che fecero tutti gli antichi *heroi, re e governatori* da principio del mondo, *non havendo più sicuro modo di signoreggiare che il timore e spavento della loro simolata religione*.[10]

Sergius offered the same advice at the end of the *argumentatio* as well as in the final *peroratio*:

I giudei dunque et i popoli christiani, scandaliggiati di tante novità di religione, sanza dubbio saranno facili ad allettirsi alla divotione tua, la quale con *due modi* più che con altri si può acquistare che è *la licenza del vivere* et *il timore della religione*. Questa per rassettargli in una ferma opinione, e quell'altra per trargli de tanti mali et estorsioni di che sono vessati; né è cosa che più si convegna, né più si richieda a *riconciliarsi gli animi, e al governo de' popoli che questa*, la quale molto bene *intesero quelli che diedero nuove leggi agli huomini*. Dunque, ad ogni tua opinione, è di mestiero che tu chiami *l'auttorità dal cielo*, alla quale non sarà alcuno così savio né così isperto che non solo le creda, ma non la temi anchora, tanta è la *virtù* che di là su può venire. Laonde sarai *sicuro* che a tutti i tuoi pensieri non sarà oppositione alcuna, massimamente mostrando loro, che ogni cosa fai a fine di scaricargli di tante oppressioni e mostrargli la via della libertà co'l pronuntiare *la solutione di tutti i tributi*.[11]

The Christian monk Sergius suggested to Muhammad that he follow the men "who gave new laws to their people." Muhammad should especially keep in mind the example of the "ancient heroes, kings, and legislators" who "did the same since the beginning of time, because there is no better way of ruling than the fear and the reverence of simulated religion." Castrodardo's version of Sergius's speech is clearly based on Domenichi's translation of Giustinian's text, and is reworked according to his own new readings. Here is Ludovico Domenichi's translation of Bernardo Giustinian's text:

Et gli dice ch'era venuto per mostrargli in che modo egli haverebbe facilmente potuto guadagnare l'imperio d'Oriente, se lo voleva ubbidire. Che gli erano necessarie *due cose*, cioè le *forze*, et la *volontà de popoli*. . . . Ma che *due cose* principalmente concigliavano l'amore de popoli: la *licenza del vivere* et la *riverenza della religione*. . . . Questa sola cosa ci manca, che tu medesimo non manchi alle cose ch'ella [la fortuna] ti ministra, et tu che aggiunga *arte e ingegno* a conciliarti i popoli. Fa di mestiere che tu vi mescoli un *poco di religione* et che tu chiami l'*authorità del cielo*, la qual cosa molti *principi* hanno fatto. Principalmente si muovono i popoli *per la religione*. Essi rozzi, et ignoranti, privi di ogni ragione, hanno *dubbio nella fede*. I christiani sono divisi in cento heresie. Essi sono abbattuti dai carichi, se tu come mandato dal cielo apparirai loro e gli mostrerai la via della libertà, et pronuntierai *l'assolutione di tutti i tributi*. Con questa mercede della quale tu non puoi far loro cosa alcuna più grata tutti concorreranno alle tue insegne.[12]

Domenichi's translation is very close to Bernardo Giustinian's Latin text:

Venisse se—dicit—ut illi ostendat quo pacto si se audiat facile assequi possit Orientis imperium. *Duo* illi esse necessaria: *vires* videlicet et *populorum voluntatem*. . . . *Amorem* autem *populorum* duo in primis maxime conciliare: *licentia vivendi* et *religionis*

metum. . . . Unum illud deest, ut ad ea quae illa subministrat ipse non desis. Ingenium artemque ad populos conciliandos addas: *miscere religionis aliquid* opus est et *auctoritatem ex caelo petere*, quodam principes multi fecerunt. Moventur populi in primis religione. Rudes et indocti omnis rationis expertes. In fide labant. Discissi sunt christiani centum in hereses. Attriti oneribus si veluti caelo demissus illis appareas viamque illis libertatis ostenderis. Pronuntiarisque omnium tributorum absolutionem. Hac mercede qua nullam gratiorem prestare potes, omnes ad tua signa concurrent.[13]

The political theories of Castrodardo's Sergius (1547) come from Bernardo Giustinian's Sergius (1493) in the translation by Ludovico Domenichi (1545), albeit rewritten according to a variety of readings and influences that perfectly echo the Numa Pompilius of Machiavelli's *Discourses*. There continues to be heated debate about Machiavelli and religion: whether for Machiavelli religion was only a technical and amoral *instrumentum regni*, or whether it was a civic *religio*, literally "a bond," that is to say, the essential, cohesive link in society. What is interesting for us is that in Castrodardo's version of the speech, Giustinian's and Domenichi's "religion" has become "simulated religion," and it is described as the "principal element that is required for governing the people." The political techne suggested by Domenichi and Giustinian was used by many princes: "many princes have used this political method," while Castrodardo's "modo" was followed by "all the ancient heroes, kings, and legislators . . . since the beginnings of time," that is, by all "those who gave new laws to their people."

Castrodardo ventured down the path left by his source from a different angle and more in depth, going as far as the legislators of the myth, the kings, and the heroes of the origins of Rome. In this regard, it may be helpful to recall that the figure of Numa Pompilius during the 1540s was becoming increasingly present behind the impulse of the European religious crisis. This happened in the Florence of Cosimo I, as well as among the intellectuals circulating in Venice and the conspirators of Lucca intrigued by the second king of Rome's methods of ruling. For instance, in Venice, Giovanni Maria Memmo, both in the printed version of his *Oratore* (1545) and in the manuscript version of the dialogue on the perfect prince and the perfect republic, published in 1564, recalled the importance of the political use of religion and the model of Numa Pompilius. Especially in the preparatory materials of the dialogue he emphasizes, without explicitly quoting Machiavelli, the idea of simulation, which was then omitted in the version printed after Machiavelli's works were condemned. Memmo's "simulated religion" is very close in time, genre, and space to that of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo.[14]

The translator and editor of the *Alcorano*, unsurprisingly within the frame of an elegant oration, describes a Muhammad who must rule with "the fear and anxiety of their simulated religion," like Machiavelli's Numa, "who feigned to have intercourse with a Nymph [Egeria]." And so Muhammad must understand that any attempt "has never been made to introduce unusual laws among a people . . . without resorting to Divine authority," as we read in Machiavelli's *Discourses*.[15] This was a lesson that Castrodardo's Muhammad

seemed to have learned well. From "the authority of this simulated religion," the men who were members of his faction "easily had faith in him, to the extent that his reputation grew every day." Castrodardo thus rewrote a modern biography of Muhammad, which reflects the literary, political, and religious debates that crossed Italian and European society. If Juan Andrés's miʿrāǧ is rewritten through Castrodardo's readings of Dante, Sergius's speech in the *Alcorano* is reformulated in a new and very rich humanistic oration according to a more accurate, uniform, and already specialized political language: the language of Machiavelli.

One might object that Muhammad's simulation, his forgeries, and his deception of his Arab followers was nothing new; and that is true. But Castrodardo, rewriting this speech according to his readings of Machiavelli, gave new meaning to what could already be found in the medieval repertory around Muhammad. Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was possible to read Muhammad's *simulatio* in Peter the Venerable's *Summa totius heresis Saracenorum*, which then also appeared in Bibliander: "quia vi gladii non potuit, *religionis velamine* et divini prophetae nomine rex fieri attemptavit"; in Vincenzo di Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*: "ut qui rex esse non poterat, prophetam se Dei *simularet* esse et nuncium"; and in Pedro Alfonso's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*: "quomodo *callida simulatione* prophetam se confinxerit," to provide just a few examples. But whereas the medieval sources generally included an explicit accusation of the religious *simulatio*, focused on the defense of the true prophecy, that is, the revelation of Christ, against those who "pretend to be prophets," in the *Alcorano di Macometto* the game became much more complex. The long-lasting process of Caesarization of the Prophet and the diffusion of Machiavelli's work in Venice in the 1530s and 1540s, along with the circulation of the new version of Averroës's *Destructio destructionum* (originally written in Arabic in 1179) and Pietro Pomponazzi's *De incantationibus* (1520) during the same decades, clearly influenced Castrodardo's rethinking and refashioning of Muhammad's *simulatio*. The standard accusations of being a pseudoprophet were revived in a new and very elegant speech, which combined, without ever mentioning them, as was usually the case, Machiavelli's *Prince* and *Discourses* with contemporary Venetian historiography. The other methods of ruling put forward by Bernardo Giustinian, that is, the "license to live" and "the diminishment of all taxes," went side by side with "the fear of religion" also in the concise biography of Muhammad that appeared in the *Compendio delle historie del regno di Napoli* by Pandolfo Collenuccio, printed several times by Michele Tramezino (1539, 1541, 1548) before Girolamo Ruscelli's (1552) curatorship: "thus aided by the advice of a monk called Sergius, driven out of Constantinople as he was considered to be a Nestorian heretic, he decided, to achieve his goal, to join *religion* with *force*. . . . And so through *the authority of religion*, with *the force of the sword*, with the possibility *to live in their own way*, with the *diminishment of all the taxes*, he took over the Middle East, Persia, Syria,

Judea, Egypt and Africa and almost all the Christian provinces of the East, thus expanding the name, law and reputation of the Saracens." In short, this oration is the result of a renewed humanistic tradition. And it transcended its source in style: it is, in fact, well constructed and brimming with an oratory style that is rather more sustained than in Domenichi and Giustinian. Rhetorical figures are typical of the oratory genre. For example in the asyndetic and anaphoric repetitions proper to the Latin *movēre*: "ogni cosa è tirannia, ogni cosa è rubberia, ogni cosa è violentia," or "ad altro non studia che a raccor gemme, ad altro non attende che a compiacere meretrici e garzoni, né ad altro pensa che a caccie."[16]

THE ARMED PROPHET

The result of this is a Muhammad who differs from medieval tradition: extracted from humanistic historiography, refashioned acccording to Machiavelli's theory, and presented as a legislator and armed prophet rather than a false pseudoprophet. Muhammad becomes, then, a symbol; his historical biography is weakened and makes room for the political model: the Prophet is thrust into the legend of "all the antique heroes, kings, and governors," and he is thus added to a process that was under way in European and Mediterranean society, and circulated widely in different spheres. This process ranged from the *Expositio dominica in Pater Noster* (approx. 1506–8) by Antonio de' Ferraris called Il Galateo (1444–1517) to the *De Caesaribus* by Johann Cuspinianus (1517) and the works by Pietro Pomponazzi, a leading figure in the city of Padua, where Castrodardo had studied. Closer to Castrodardo, the anonymous Erasmian text of the *Pazzia* also comes to mind, printed several times from 1541 onward: "And is it not true that Numa thanks to the masked assistance of Egeria, and Muhammad with the follies present in his Alcorano peacefully governed foolish and furious peoples?" What also comes to mind is Lucio Paolo Rosello's *Ritratto del vero governo*, also published by Andrea Arrivabene, in which the author pondered the political use of religion: "We can see that Numa Pompilius, Hercules, Alexander, Aeneas and many others, *demonstrating a religious piety*, which encourages the souls of the subjects to not fear any sort of deceit by anyone who possesses that religious piety, and who see the possession of a chaste fear of God and acknowledge that they are governed with that same soul, were not just loved and honored by the people but feared and believed to be gods on earth." I am also reminded of the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1593) who, in the chapter entitled "Linguae Arabicae necessitas ad Turcas iuvandos" of the *Bibliotheca selecta* (9: 9), introduces a Muhammad who is the epitome of Numa's political-religious and Tullus Hostilius's military virtues: "Numa, conficto congressu cum Dea Aegeria, populum continuit, Tullus vim omnem posuit in armis: utrumque Mahometus expressit." Of course, the Jesuit, in providing the bibliographical instruments needed to defeat the Muslims, did not praise the

Prophet of Islam, but neither did he provide the portrait of a foul heresiarch or a fraudulent plunderer. I am also thinking of the cosmographer Giuseppe Rosaccio (c. 1530–1621), who in the late sixteenth century fit comfortably into a consolidated tradition: "As Muhammad was familiar with the *occasion* he decided to found a *new law* or sect, within which he wanted all the other laws to be present." This Machiavellian Muhammad has many connections with Italian anticlericalism and the diffusion of unbelief across social classes, as well as with the underground but repeatedly emerging tradition of the three impostors. For the 1520s, mention might be made of the little-known Siptabina Pisano. In his 1526 *Itinerario Asyatico* Siptabina tells us about how he met prophets and heroes in the hereafter. He saw the statue of Hercules, Moses, Jesus, and a gigantic Muhammad, larger than the Colossus of Rhodes, that he described as follows: "the great chief, and true legislator," concluding that "all rational creatures, are subject to three legislators, of the Egyptians, of the Assyrians, and of the Arabs": that is, Moses, Christ, and Muhammad.[17]

Hence, the armed prophet in Castrodardo's oration is the offspring of this long process: he is based on fifteenth-century and humanistic political analysis of the development of Islam according to Bernardo Giustinian, and Castrodardo develops the figure based on the political theory of Machiavelli, reinterpreting the medieval *simulatio* on the basis of the contemporary political conflicts and the spread of religious skepticism. Sergius's oration overturns the image of the Prophet Muhammad that Castrodardo offered in the letter to the reader: "the dirty life of their prophet and his laws on earth, his simulated religion, the ceremonies characterized by superstition, the false faith and the terrible methods he used to rise to his cruel tyranny."[18]

Castrodardo and Arrivabene redesigned Muhammad's portrait after Machiavelli in the text and even more clearly in the frontispiece, basing the portrait on the ever-present models of ancient Rome and steering clear of the polemical announcement of the letter to the reader. In the rectangular field directly below the title, which recalls the image of Saint Paul preaching in the frontispiece of the Bible by Antonio Brucioli, Muhammad wears the clothing of a Roman soldier. He also has a beard and his shoulders are covered with a cloak that looks like something the *pontifex* Numa Pompilius would wear. He addresses a Turkish and Dürerian crowd, holding the book in his right hand and brandishing his sword with his left: he is thus a prophet, an armed prophet to be precise. Certainly not an apocalyptic monster nor a brutal and ferocious anti-Christ, nor is he the charlatan in whose ear a trained dove pretends to whisper the revelation.

This new prophet, if he wishes not to fail the way Girolamo Savonarola is described in the *Prince*, must use both the sword and the book, both violence and religion: he must choose the models of Romulus and Numa Pompilius, or, preferably, those of Numa Pompilius and Tullus Hostilius of Machiavelli's *Discourses*. These examples apply to Muhammad and therefore to his successors. The annotation on the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (602–80) in the

eleventh chapter of book 1 reads as follows: "though this king may not have been much respected by his subjects, he added to his force religion after their prophet Muhammad." Luca D'Ascia has pointed out that Italian political historiography, at least from Paolo Giovio onward and especially in the second half of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century, reflected at length on Machiavelli's theories, testing them on the example of the Ottoman Empire. Here, on the contrary, Machiavelli's theories are applied to early Islam, to the military ascent of his prophet and his successors.[19]

This oration is thus part of a strategy enacted throughout the entire book and especially on the title page and in the introduction. Castrodardo's strategy is based on the constant balance between overt anti-Islamic polemic and covert pro-Ottoman political messages. And it is developed according to a complex rhetorical register, both exoteric and esoteric, to be read on several levels and between the lines of the text and the paratext, consisting in the exhibition of religious orthodoxy and in many careful and sagacious omissions. Emerging from this is a perception and presentation of Islam that is still medieval, but that here and there, especially in the sections I have analyzed more closely, is reformulated on the basis of Castrodardo's readings, Arrivabene's agenda, and the needs of the new and wide public of readers.

This is how this ambiguous and bipolar Muhammad is born, this hircocervus of turpitude and wisdom, a prophet who in the marginal notes deserved the same punishment as Simon Magus, because of his fables, his fake miracles, and his forgeries ("favole"), and who on the title page is instead portrayed as a wise and prudent king, according to his political arts ("arti"). And who in the same sentence manages to be a "monster owing to his evil deeds and deprived of erudition as concerns every type of honest art," but also a "child filled with great harmony," "grace," and "a sharp intellect" as depicted in another scene on the title page: beardless, elegant, and wholly dedicated to his education as the perfect Renaissance prince. I do not agree with Elena Bonora that the *Alcorano* contains only a "drastic criticism of the figure of the prophet," nor do I agree with Giovanni Ricci when he argues that "a great deal of time would have to pass before the negative opinions inherited from the polemical medieval literature were abandoned." This is only a part of the truth, which is carefully laid out in the marginalia, that is to say, in the exoteric apparatus of confutation, but not on the title page or in Sergius's oration extracted from a Venetian historian and promptly rewritten according to Machiavelli's political theory.[20]

So in reading the simulated religion of Sergius's speech, and above all in analyzing the exemplary image of the Arab Caesar or of the Roman prophet on the title page, one might think that a road has finally been paved toward the Muhammad of the *Atheismus triumphatus* by Tommaso Campanella, toward the impostors of French libertines and Gabriel Naudé's *héros civilisateur*, ultimately arriving all the way to the Muhammad of George Sale and of Edward Gibbon. But we must be careful not to get off track and lose sight of

something more important: the political agenda, the diplomatic conjuncture, and the contemporary Venetian audience in the winter of 1547. The geopolitical context of the dedication to Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon is crucial to understanding why Castrodardo rewrote such a long oration.[21]

In other words, are we justified in reading something more behind the early Islamic fiction of this long and important speech? May we assume that the oration contains an explicit message expressing sympathy for the Ottomans to the French ambassadors, to the political exiles from Italy, to the anti-Habsburg circles in Venice that were in a state of agitation between 1546 and 1547? And more importantly, was Giovanni Battista Castrodardo fully and clearly a part of it?

I think that we can legitimately read this oration within the diplomatic context it was produced and easily glimpse behind the masks of Heraclius I and Muhammad the faces of Emperor Charles V and of Sultan Süleyman. After all, Gabriel Luetz d'Aramon had the same task as Sergius the Monk: to convince the sultan to attack the emperor, to negotiate with the leader of the Muslims what "everybody" in Venice (Crivelli, d'Aramon, Arrivabene, Vincenzo Maggi, the Florentine exiles, etc.) "wished for and kept silent": that is, an Ottoman attack in Hungary and the defeat of Charles V at Mülberg.

Only in Castrodardo's oration, and not in Giustinian's text, does Sergius say that "I came here for no other reason than to kindle your soul with hatred before our lords and at the same time show you the path of their perdition that is the punishment of many of their ills." If we were to accept this militant interpretation we would catch a glimpse behind Muhammad's mask and the new rhetoric of Sergius/Castrodardo of a Süleyman who is represented only here, and not in Giustinian's version of the speech, as a "safe refuge for all those who are without grace,"a "refuge for the poor and oppressed in the world," a "shelter for all those afflicted by the tyranny of Christian princes," and "finally rid of all those who were expelled for their avarice," which recalls the idealized host of the European renegades and of the Italian Antitrinitarians who went to Thessaloniki and Damascus, so close to the spheres in which the *Alcorano di Macometto* was disseminated.[22] Moreover the expressions used by Castrodardo literally remind us of one of Sultan Süleyman's honorific titles, "the Refuge of the World" (*Alem Penah*), sometimes formulated as "the Refuge of all the People in the whole World." As Giancarlo Casale recently pointed out, this title was also used in an Ottoman map produced in Venice for the Ottoman market in 1559.[23]

This overlapping should come as no surprise, if we consider the fact that in February 1548, the heterodox Spaniard Francisco de Enzinas (1518–52), in close contact with Baldassarre Altieri and Guido Giannetti from Fano, before choosing England, thought of fleeing from Europe "ad Muselmanos," and especially if we consider the exile granted by the French Embassy in Istanbul to Lutheran preachers and political exiles from Italy. And even more so if we recall that at the same time as the Caesarization of Muhamad in Italian

historiography and the romanizing Caesarization of the Ottoman sultans, and in particular of Süleyman, had been in progress for some time between Venice and Istanbul, in a range of texts that were pro-Ottoman, pro-French, and anti-Habsburg where the *Alcorano di Macometto* would fit right in. We would then be able to understand why it was only through Castrodardo's and not Giustinian's Muhammad, that is Süleyman, that "not just the Orient but the whole world must be freed from the false tyranny of that world's rulers, as well as from the false religion it is filled with." Charles V would be a perfect fit for the portrait of Heraclius I sketched by Giustinian and later by Castrodardo: a mad, merciless, tight-fisted, slothful emperor incapable of thinking clearly. And corrupted here by those Persians who topically over the course of the sixteenth century appear in an anti-Ottoman key as flowers of virtue and experts on belle lettres, but who in Castrodardo's oration, as part of a text dedicated to the French captain who was soon to take part in the Ottoman anti-Savafid military campaigns (1548), are lascivious and infamous magicians.[24]

Unfortunately, we do not know whether or to what degree, during the years he spent away from Belluno, Castrodardo was involved in the insurrectional plotting and nonconformist religious movements of the 1540s. We do not know whether he shared the widespread antipathy for the Habsburgs stimulated perhaps by his personal and familiar memory of the German troops marching through Belluno. At present, all we know is how he escaped those turbulent years: "by keeping silent." We do not know, however, whether he lived there "bramando," that is, wishing for something new. For the time being, we know too little to explain with certainty the motives behind his sudden flight from Venice and the reasons for a career gone to waste and deliberately spent in silence lasting forty years.[25]

I formulate this interpretation of the oration based on its rhetorical and linguistic analysis, as I am well aware of the context in which the *Alcorano* was published, the diplomatic role of its dedicatee, and contemporary reading practices. As concerns the last of these, allow me to offer one example regarding a reader of Giustinian's work. In the exemplar of the *De origine Urbis Venetiarum* preserved in the Angelica library in Rome, I read a note in the margin next to the passage in which the monk is introduced: "Sergius Monachus apostata perfidiam omnem Mahumeto persuadet. Martinus Luterus alter monachus et apostata nostris temporibus." The parallel had come to the light: Luther like Sergius was a monk, an apostate, a rebel.[26]

READING THE *ALCORANO DI MACOMETTO* IN FLORENCE

But there's more. The oration of Sergius the Monk, that "singular thing" hidden in the text and never analyzed carefully, did not go unheeded. The introduction to the *Alcorano di Macometto* was time and again described as no more than a polemical prologue to the translation of the Qur'an. But looking more closely,

it was also the vehicle for a pro-Ottoman and pro-French oration as well as of the new Iberian and Italian *miʿrāǧ* by Castrodardo, stripped of Juan Andrés's confutation of Muhammad's miracles, and, therefore, of the Turkish prophecy collected by Georgijevič divested of the exhortation to go to war against the Ottomans. It is revealing that, although it has escaped the scholarly community and is of little interest to the later translators of the text, Sergius's oration caught the attention of seventeenth-century Italian readers, who were by that time well prepared to grasp in all its nuances and contradictions, behind religious polemic, the very political and mythologizing biography of Muhammad.

Unsurprisingly, this took place in Florence, the city of Machiavelli, and the place where Antonio Magliabechi would have discussed the nature and the diffusion of *De tribus impostoribus* in the 1690s. The physician and man of letters Francesco Redi asked one of his friends in Florence to read the *Alcorano di Macometto* for him. As Ann Blair has shown, "reading for others" was a common practice among early modern scholars. This unknown reader wrote a report of his reading for his friend that is still preserved among Redi's papers held in the National Library of Florence. The reader had been fed for more than a century on Machiavellism and anti-Machiavellism, as well as on the renewed erudite and scientific Florentine Orientalism. This was the perfect environment, in other words, in which to read about the Islamic *arcana imperii* (secrets of ruling) alongside the *arcana naturae* (secrets of nature). This new reader reacted thus to the old Italian text: "I believed the Alcorano was a book filled with vanity and foolishness, but its reading, the fruit of immense goodness, allowed me to have a very different idea; as there is no decree or law that was not created with utmost prudence and attention; as I know that you know much better than me."[27] The entire report hinges on a double register: on the one hand, the repeated and dissimulating denial of Islam as a revealed religion, and on the other, the continuous legitimization of Islam according to the hitherto illustrated historiographic tradition. The Florentine reader well knew that Muhammad could be described as a pseudoprophet, but also a wise and prudent legislator, actually, as the best of them all because his law was the most effective: "At first I say that it is a firm truth that Muhammad is a pseudoprophet and that his law is evil and false because it is against the real and holy truth of Christ. Nonetheless, it seems to me that morally speaking, he was not just equal to all the other ethnic legislators, but far superior to them, as to found a great monarchy he could not have found, to my mind, a law that was more opportune." Islam is an effective law and above all, as the facts demonstrate, a winning law. Late antique legislators, in fact, were more successful that the ancients: "And if man has always tended to judge things as those that are made well and those that are made poorly, we can say with certainty that the laws and the fundaments of the Mohammaedan empire were better than those of any other empire, as it took the Romans 900 years to rule Italy and 200 years the rest of the world, while it took their successors the

Arabs 100 years to achieve such greatness that it almost equaled that of the Roman Empire." Such a reader analyzed the use of violence in the acquisition of power, emphasizing the topos of the efficiency of the *ǧihād*: "knowing that only stealing and the violence of weapons can lead to progress and the great earning of wealth and of kingdoms, to stimulate them toward the latter, he said that those who went to war for the love of God were more loved by Him, more worthy of his mercy." And he thus praised, in accordance with a long tradition, the solid ethical structure of Islamic law: "there is no virtue that he does not exhort, nor vice that he does not reproach, such as adulterers, the usurpers of things, of orphans and widows and the like, thus forcing everyone to obey the precepts of the decalogue also frequently by threatening those who transgress" to the extent that "if in these precepts the two principal mysteries of our faith, that is, the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Word, weren't denied, there would be no opposition to them." And thus, in describing in detail the contents of the three books he praises the fātiḥa revealing its possible liturgical origin: "We also read therein facts that are fabulous, which cannot be read in the other two books, in the second of which we even find an oration pronounced by him in imitation, I believe, of our Domenicale [Lord's Prayer] which would not sound bad if expressed by the mouth of all the most devout and religious persons: 'In the name of our merciful and pious God. Lord of the Universe and Judge of the Day of Judgement, ever-praised, we pray to you, we confide in you, show us the right path, the way of those you have chosen and not on the path of those you are angry with and that are unfaithful.'"[28]

Praise of the fātiḥa was not so obsolete in seventeenth-century Italy. The Servant of Mary Fulgenzio Micanzio of Brescia (1570–1654), for example, offered a reading of Islamic law and of the life of the Prophet that was again pragmatic and political, also steeped in that Venetian attitude of antipathy for Rome and the Habsburgs, summed up in the visceral appeal by Paolo Sarpi of the "Sancte Turcas, libera nos," and certainly inspired by a neutral disposition toward Islamic law and the Ottoman Empire. Hence, Micanzio and his translation of the fātiḥa: "Oration of the Turks: 'In the name of merciful and pious God every praise. Oh God, judge on the day of judgement, guide us along the path of those loved by you, and not along that of the reprobates.' The oration is very good; we can see therein that *Muhammad was a judicious man in matters of politics*, and he knew how to be understood by those who had been seduced, authentic, simple people to whom he offered a simple religion and consisting of only a few things. For this reason, this religion is not divided."[29] While Francesco Redi's reader praised the fātiḥa as a liturgical parallel of the Lord's Prayer, here instead what is praised is its concreteness, as is the flexibility of a faith devoted to a Beduin society: people who were simple and coarse, but certainly not mad or brutish.

Let us leave Venice and return to our Florentine reader: here, too, Islamic law is appreciated for its effectiveness in spite of the fact that it is contrary to the dogmas of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. And therefore, the *Alcorano*

is filled with dangerous tales for the common people, but ones that are of great use for a select audience of politicians who could learn the secrets of ruling from it. It is therefore right to forbid the masses from reading this book. The realm of politics is thus precluded from the lower classes that cannot and must not have access to the *arcana imperii*: "It thus seems to me that in Rome they are right not to want to authorize the reading of the Alcorano, for it might cause repulsion in those who are idiots. It does contain some contradictions, but which law doesn't? Undoubtedly, the events told in the first book have something mythical about them, but we could say the same for the stories of Romulus, of Numa Pompilius, and of other legislators."[30] This sophisticated reader was perfectly aware of the different levels of reading of Arrivabene's companion to Islam. He grasped, in fact, the ambivalence and complex nature of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. A text in which different and perhaps opposite traditions can exist side by side: the political and pragmatic analysis of the life of Muhammad along with an impressive apparatus of polemical marginal notes. In fact: "as for the marginalia it contains, they have more of the devout Christian than the wise and prudent politician." And it is precisely before this belligerent paratext that the Florentine topically wonders, "What might their author [of the marginalia] answer to the person who asked why God did not just allow such dangerous sects to come into the world and grow to such a great size, but also allowed these sects to be subjected to the influence of the stars?"[31] We now know that the "author of the marginalia" was not just one person, and that they reflect the way in which the Qur'an and the *Fabulae Saracenorum* were read over the course of four long centuries: from the medieval marginalia to what was added by Bibliander in 1543 and reworked by Castrodardo, who chose from and combined the old marginalia, Widmanstetter's annotations, and his own biographical and Dantesque nterventions. How would all these annotators and readers of the Qur'an have answered the question of Francesco Redi's friend? Why had God allowed for the growth of Islam followed by that of the Ottoman Empire? And above all, how would the translator and editor of the *Alcorano* have answered a question that historians and politicians during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries continued to ask themselves?

A possible answer to these questions lies in the letter to the readers in the *Alcorano*, which may have been penned either by Arrivabene or by Castrodardo: the latter being the hypothesis I lean toward. The political analysis of the Ottoman Empire, developed through "many books" and "ancient memories," seems to merge here with the contemporary religious unrest. In the letter, in fact, the old commoplace of the negligence and of the fault of the Christian prince is reinterpreted by evoking the *Beneficio di Christo*, the booklet that proliferated in Italy between 1543 and 1547, that is, during the years when Castrodardo, by leaving the chapter of his cathedral, discovered the world outside Belluno. The reason for the success of the Ottoman Empire was based on the fact that Christians didn't recognize "all the

benefits they had received from Christ's death." So Christians "were punished" by Christ himself, who allowed the Ottoman Empire to grow: "Ma se ad alcuno paresse molto più in lungo procedere la felicità loro e nostra miseria che non fecero quelle de' passati, non è però meraviglia, perciòché tanto è la *poca cognitione de' benefici di Giesù Christo* che a castigo nostro Egli consente che così lungamente siamo premuti permettendo lo aumento del nimico imperio a tanta eccellenza."[32] We do not know whether Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, who lived off prebends and other sinecures granted him by the Aleandro and Grimani families, who defended the belief of purgatory and wrote about the Roman prophet Muhammad, ever read the *Beneficio di Christo*. We also don't know whether he had even a vague idea of what the booklet was, or whether he heard about it in Belluno, in the diocese of Gasparo Contarini, in Padua, in Rome, or in the workshop of Andrea Arrivabene. We have very little information as concerns Castrodardo's religious curiosities. We could advance some hypotheses, but these would be based more on Castrodardo's silences than on any concrete evidence.

Moreover, Giustinian also referred to the benefits of Christ's death. There, it was the Emperor Heraclius who "having forgotten the benefits he had received from Christ stained himself with heresy" ("horum immemor a Christo beneficiorum, omni se perfidiae labe contaminavit"), a passage that Castrodardo extracted from Giustinian and reused at least twice during his version of Sergius's speech: Castrodardo's emperor was "rather forgetful of the benefits of God" and "knew little about the benefits of God." The same could be said for all Christians as we just read in the letter to the readers.[33]

As for the Florentine reader's question, in the end the reader gave himself and his friend Francesco Redi a different answer. He based his opinion on the prophecies of the pseudo-Ovidian *De Vetula seu de mutatione vitae*, relegating the reasons for Ottoman success to the design of fate and the stars.[34]

This seventeenth-century reading of the *Alcorano di Macometto* documents that Castrodardo's Muhammad and his simulated religion did not die in the closed and literary space of a beautiful oration, but rather reached new readers in the erudite circles of the physician and Arabist Francesco Redi. This proves the vitality of a humanistic tradition, later fueled by Machiavellian and post-Machiavellian political theory, through which the image of Muhammad as armed prophet and exemplary lawgiver was spread. By drawing from this tradition, from the works of those who write "not with the aim of refuting their errors" but "in order to write history," Castrodardo composed this new oration, which was discussed and assimilated in Florence in the middle of the seventeenth century. The time was ripe for Arab lawgivers and Arab princes, and they did not just come from north of the Alps, but also from Arrivabene's workshop and from that terrible winter of 1547.[35]

CHAPTER 8

Reading and Rewriting the *Alcorano di Macometto*

Francesco Sansovino Between the Historie Universali *and the* Selve

The reading practices that spread throughout and beyond Francesco Redi's circle prepare the ground for discussion of the success of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Believed to be a rare and *recherché* book, the *Alcorano* was actually widely distributed in Italy, elsewhere in Europe, and to a certain extent beyond Europe.

Analyzing the *Alcorano*'s success does not reveal just its history but also its nature. The contexts in which it was diffused, the different ways and reasons it was read, and its various types of readers, translators, and new compilers all contribute to defining Arrivabene's editorial project, as well as Castrodardo's product. As discussed in earlier chapters, the *Alcorano* was conceived for both Italian and Italian-speaking readers as the Islamic volume in a published series of history books in the vernacular, compiled by a translator of ancient history, a would-be editor of Dante's *Comedy*, and a reader of Machiavelli. This was a book of interest to political dissidents and orthodox polemicists, diplomats, missionaries, and renegades who needed to be informed about Islam, and it was also of interest to curious readers seeking entertainment. Unlike Paganini's project, Arrivabene's companion to Islam was instantly successful, as demonstrated by its wide readership and the number of people who owned printed exemplars and scribal copies of it. In short, it was not just "a reading for an exclusive group of followers" but a widely distributed text.[1]

Analysis of the success of the *Alcorano*, through its distribution, will begin in Italy and the readers closest to Castrodardo, and with the popular historiography of companions to and abridgments of universal history, which Venetian publishers printed in large runs. Castrodardo had been trained on Leonico Tomeo's humanistic historiography when translators and editors of history books, like Mambrino Roseo and Giovanni Tarcagnota, were also publishing with the Tramezino family both in Venice and in Rome. Castrodardo read the Venetian and Mediterranean historiography of Bernardo

Giustinian and, during his second life in Belluno (1548–88), focused on the municipal and ecclesiastical history of Belluno and on the genealogy of the Collalto family. It follows, therefore, that the *Alcorano di Macometto*, the finest of inexpensive pocket books on historical and contemporary Islam, was popular among translators and editors of history books. The *Alcorano* was a well-balanced collection of everything that a sixteenth-century European reader could possibly want to know about Islam, Islamic history, and the Ottomans. For this reason it became instantly successful both as a source and as a model for that particular genre among later compilers: in Venice of course, but also in Belluno.

One such compiler was Giovanni Niccolò Doglioni (1548–1629), born in Venice and a member of a noble family from Belluno, a city he would always be tied to and of which he was a passionate historian. In the chapters of his *Compendio historico universale* (1594) devoted to the life of Muhammad, as well as in the chronologies of his *Teatro universale* (1606), Doglioni used Castrodardo's *Alcorano*, but without making any mention of his fellow citizen who had recently passed away almost in anonymity. Though Doglioni said not a word about the translator, he was familiar with Castrodardo's companion to Islam and with Castrodardo's Machiavellian rewriting of the oration that the Christian monk Sergius addressed to the prophet Muhammad: "a certain Siro, called Sergius the Monk, who was banned because he was a Nestorian."[2]

"HISTORIA UNIVERSALE"

Niccolò Doglioni, who proudly signed his work as both a *veneziano* and a *bellunese*, was not an isolated case. Among Castrodardo's contemporaries, we find a further example of the use of his *Alcorano* as both source and model: in the Venetian polymath Francesco Sansovino (1521–83). The author of the most important popular encyclopedia on the Ottoman Empire, Sansovino repeatedly borrowed from the *Alcorano di Macometto*, considering it both as a reliable source and as a literary model. The Italian precedent for the *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de' Turchi* (printed for the first time in Venice in 1560), was Castrodardo's companion, which would continue to be read because it contained a translation of the Qur'an in the vernacular, albeit surpassed both in size and completeness by Sansovino's *Historia*.

But exactly how did Francesco Sansovino use the *Alcorano*? And what did he select from the text? In two independent studies, Elena Bonora and Stephane Yérasimos have both shown that Sansovino introduced his long anthology of texts on Ottoman history and customs with a short compendium on the life and doctrine of Muhammad: titled *Compendio della vita di Macometto*, this section takes up folios 1*r*–15*v* of the 1560 *Historia universale*. Bonora has also indicated the source of this introductory section as being book 1 of the *Alcorano*, that is, Castrodardo's version of the Arabic-Latin treatises on the *Chronica mendosa*, the *De generatione Machumet et nutritura eius*, and

the *Doctrina Machumet* that he recomposed in order to offer readers a short, chronologically coherent, and exhaustive overview of Muhammad's life and Islamic doctrine. Sansovino limited himself to recycling the work Castrodardo had already done by simply including book one of the *Alcorano* in the introduction to the *Historia universale*, eliminating two short chapters from the beginning. Hence, the first fifteen leaves of the *Historia universale* are practically identical in terms of content and the division and titling of the paragraphs to leaves 6*r*–24*v* of book 1 of the *Alcorano*. Stephane Yérasimos has pointed out how this biographical and doctrinal introduction to Ottoman history comes and goes in later editions of the *Historia universale*. It was present in 1564, then disappeared in 1568. It reappeared in 1573, and vanished once again in the editions purged "by order of the Holy Inquisition" published in 1582 and 1600. It emerged one last time in the 1654 edition.[3]

In other words, Sansovino was not attracted by Castrodardo's reuse of travel literature and ethnography of the Ottoman Empire (Menavino, Georgijevič, etc.). He instead allowed these texts to appear on their own, publishing them precisely as they were. Likewise, he did not dwell on Castrodardo's personal reuse of Juan Andrés and Bernardo Giustinian, or on the complicated translation of the Qur'an. In short, Sansovino made no room for religion and theology summed up briefly in the introductory pages devoted to the life and doctrine of Muhammad, instead allowing more space for the ethnographic treatises. We cannot overlook that the reason for this may have been linked to censorship. The 1559 *Index*, promulgated on the eve of Sansovino's edition, banned Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an, and the 1564 *Index* would also ban its translations in the vernacular. All Sansovino needed was a quick yet thorough introduction to Islam, a short and easy text that would help readers navigate the following treatises on the contemporary Ottoman Empire. The explanation Sansovino offered his readers was "since the first part of the text deals with religion, actually with the superstition of the Turks, readers should first understand the birth and doctrine of Muhammad," especially because "what is described afterwards by Menavino mostly depends on his knowledge of Turkish scriptures and law." Thus he paused only briefly on the life of Muhammad and on the text of the *Dottrina di Macometto*, which he described as being "poetic and awkward, and similar to the fables of Lucian," acknowledging, just as Bibliander and Castrodardo did before him, its Milesian and fictional nature. Because of the constant filtering and recycling of the medieval *Corpus islamolatinum* in popular historiography and in the paradoxography of the selve, the reference to Milesian tales seems to slowly change position and assume a more positive meaning, so that Milesian still meant "corrupting," "indecent," or "irrational," as had been the case in the polemics of Juan Luís Vives (1492–1540), but at the same time, and increasingly so, "exotic," "pleasant," and "entertaining."[4]

Examining how Sansovino presented his version of the *Dottrina di Macometto*, we find that Castrodardo's Italian version was again disassembled

and put back together, thus creating a new product. Missing, however, are the marginal notes that Castrodardo had scattered in the margins of his version of the *Dottrina*: in Castrodardo's version the *Dottrina di Macometto* had fundamentally undergone two processes. Castrodardo divested the body of the text of the quotations from the Qur'an, both the translated and the transliterated ones; and filled the margins with Widmanstetter's cabbalistic annotations (1543). Thirteen years later Sansovino erased all the marginal notes that Castrodardo introduced, hoping to give readers a lighter and more modern version of the *Dottrina*. Sitting on Castrodardo's desk, in fact, were Bibliander's hefty encyclopedia and Widmanstetter's edition of the *Doctrina Machumet* published along with his epitome of the Qur'an, erudite Latin texts that Castrodardo simplified and reassembled in order to provide an exhaustive companion to Islam, still indebted to the esoteric and elitist Orientalism of the first half of the century. In this regard, Castrodardo's work was still a watershed between the learned tradition of European Oriental erudition and the wide diffusion of ethnographic texts about the Ottomans. The presence of Widmanstetter's cabalistic annotations revealed a hybrid nature and perhaps, to Sansovino's eyes, a dangerous or merely an obsolete one. For Sansovino, it was sufficient to provide readers with a short prologue to help them cross the treshold of the text and delve into the writings about the seraglio and its rich humanity.

Sansovino did not make many changes to the text. With the exception of his efforts, albeit unsystematic, to make the text uniform (*fusse* > *fosse*; *ordeni* > *ordini*; *duoi* > *due*; *loco* > *luogo*; *zaffrano* > *zafferano*), the biggest changes concerned some Arabic words solved with the help of Castroardo's paratext. An example of this are the names of the months. The month that Castrodardo indicates as "Dulheia," that is, *dhū 'l-ḥiğğa* , the twelfth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, becomes "dicembre," after Castrodardo's marginal note "di dicembre," and according to a strategy of translation that Castrodardo himself used in rendering the Latin text (*celcal*, that is, *ṣalṣāl* 'dry mud' translated as "umbra" in the Latin paratext and so rendered in the *Alcorano*). Similarly, the month "Rabe primo," that is, *rabīʿ al-awal*, the third month of the lunar calendar, was translated by Sansovino as "marzo," as Castrodardo had done in the margin following Bibliander's and Widmanstetter's annotations about the months of the year. The same can be said for "Almuhara" and "Saphar," the first and second months of the Islamic calendar, respectively, that is, *muḥarram* and *ṣafar*, again translated based on the marginal notes in the *Alcorano* as "gennaro" and "febraro."

Beyond the few editorial changes, what counted was the new circulation of a text that had erroneously been considered unsuccessful and destined to be forgotten forever. Conversely, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, book 1 of the *Alcorano* enjoyed parallel success and a very wide readership under the aegis of the *Historia universale*, owing to the many editions of Sansovino's work. The period of the great diffusion of Sansovino's

Historia universale (1560–1654) more or less corresponded to the success of the diffusion of the *Alcorano* itself, which in fact stretched from Arrivabene's edition (1547) to du Ryer's French translation (1647).

"SELVA DI VARIA LETTIONE"

To delve deeper into the success of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, I will follow the indications given by Sansovino in person, starting again with his short version of the life of Muhammad published in the threshold of the *Historia universale*. Scholars have erroneously described the matter of introducing a text on Islam or the Ottomans with the life of Muhammad as "an absolute novelty." This practice was in fact very common and had been since the Middle Ages, and was highly diffused throughout early modern Europe, as Castrodardo's and Juan Andrés's texts show.[5]

Some scholars seem to have been misled by Sansovino himself, an astute publisher who carefully obscured the Italian source of the first fifteen leaves of his *Historia universale*—later unveiled by Elena Bonora. In a first letter Sansovino tells his readers that he will offer them "the life of Muhammad in a shortened version, translated into Latin from Arabic texts," adding that since "this life is rather long, and it was not our intention to publish it here, we presented it in detail in the appendix to the *Selva di varia lettione*, that with God's help will be published in a few days." Sansovino deleted the vernacular filter of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*, translated into Italian by Castrodardo, and instead emphasized the Arabic origin and therefore the authenticity and exoticism of his sources. In this regard, his actions mirrored those of Arrivabene, who had done likewise on the title page of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. But Sansovino also offered a trail for the reader to follow. He justified the shortness of the introduction to the *Historia universale* by referring those who wanted to know more about the life of Muhammad to another work which, he said, "is to be released in a few days."[6]

This is the trail my investigations followed, revealing that Sansovino was referring to the additions to one of the Italian editions of the *Silva de varia lección* by the Spanish polymath Pedro Mexía (1497–1551), published in Seville in 1540. Mexía's *Silva*, based on the model of the *Attic Nights* by Aulus Gellius, spread throughout sixteenth-century Europe and became the archetype of an ancient genre that had been given a new life. Moreover, the *Silva*, that is, "the forest," was translated by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano (d. c. 1584) and published by Tramezino in 1544, while Castrodardo was translating for the same publisher the miscellanous work by Leonico Tomeo, the Latin and humanistic model of Pedro Mexía's *Silva*. The Italian edition of the *Silva*—printed and with additions by Sansovino—came out in 1560, the same year as the *Historia universale*. Reading the "rather long" life of the Prophet Muhammad that he "reasoned on at length" in the additions to the *Selva* is important for fully grasping how many and which medieval and early modern

sources on Islam were available in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century. It will also assist with describing the ways in which these sources were read in two contemporary works, albeit pertaining to different genres, but reshaped by the same hand: the *Historia universale* and the *Selva*. Hence, we are still in the domain of rewriting, reusing, and recycling texts, but this time in a more relaxed, easier way. The early modern genre of the selve, which Leonico Tomeo's *Varie historie* (1521) translated by Castrodardo (1544) had helped to impose on the European publishing market, can be compared to the *Reader's Digest*. The richness and disorderliness of the selve was vital and programmatic and the very reason behind the genre itself, "because in the forest and in the bush, plants and trees do not follow any order or rule," as Mexía himself recalled. Sansovino worked on two tables at the same time, and diversified his offer depending on his public and on the literary genre. Sansovino's practices of rewriting reveal the longevity of European medieval literature concerning Muhammad in its various genres (history, polemical literature, antihagiography), which in the *Selva* was given the space that it had not been allotted in the short prologue of the *Historia universale*. Therefore, while Bonora emphasizes the modernity of the sources of the *Historia* as indicating "the exclusion on Sansovino's part of what we might call the 'pre-Giovian' sources on the Turkish world, that is to say, the writings penned by erudite humanists," the same cannot be said for the additions to the Italian translation of Pedro Mexía's *Silva*. No sooner do we turn our gaze toward a contemporary work, but of a different genre, than we realize that the sources change. Sansovino even surpassed Mexía, who followed the work of the erudite humanists mentioned by Bonora: "Platina in the *Life of Popes*, Flavius Blondus in the *Decades of History from the Deterioration of the Roman Empire*, Egnatius in the *Lives of the Emperors*, in the *Annals of the city of Constantinople*, in Nauclerius, Antonino, among others." That is to say: "Pope Pius in his *Cosmography* and Raphael Volterranus similarly in his own, and more at length Nicolaus Sagundinus, Francescus Filelphus in a letter he wrote to Charles VIII of France and Antonius Sabellicus, in his books of history [italics added]."[7]

In the additions to the *Selva*, Sansovino goes back much further than Paolo Giovio's commentary on Turkish customs (1531). Sansovino's additions were published in part 4 of the *Selva*. The first chapter concerns "Della vita di Mahometto, de' suoi costumi, et della sua falsa et perfida dottrina" (311*r*–325*v*). Sansovino had more sources available to him than Pedro Mexía did, and he was willing to keep the promises he had made in the *Historia*: "since at the beginning of our *Historia universale* we promised to deal with this subject in detail." There was much more material available to him than just the sources he used for the *Historia universale*, nor did he restrict himself to the fifteenth-century erudition on which Mexía based his work. Sansovino was much bolder: he went beyond fifteenth-century universal history, and returned to the medieval classics of the legend of Muhammad, choosing and mixing materials

taken from different genres. This new life of the prophet was based on Venetian pre-Humanism, via the *Historia imperialis* by Giovanni Mansionario (d. 1337): "which we have taken from Giovanni the sacristan of Verona who wrote it in the year MCCCXX." And so it was based on a classical thirteenth-century text that attacked the Qur'an and Islam, the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* "by Brother Ricoldo of Florence, of the Order of the Preachers." Many other things are drawn from the *Golden Legend* as well, that is, from the life of Saint Pelagius (Pope Pelagius II, 579–90 ce) just as they "are briefly told by Brother Jacobus da Varagine." Sansovino thus referred to the medieval classics of controversy and of anti-hagiography: Ricoldo and Jacobus de Varagine, to which he added a medieval historical source from the Veneto. This knowledge serves my analysis well, considering that Castrodardo, during those same years, and after reading about Muhammad in the fifteenth-century universal historiography by Bernardo Giustinian, also referred back to the Veneto fourteenth-century historiography by copying genealogical fragments by Giovanni da Nono (c. 1276–1346) for his patron Giovanni Battista II of Collalto. In the additions to Mexía's *Selva*, Francesco Sansovino was in no hurry. He had all the time and space he could possibly want and he put forward divergent variants of the same legend, providing the reader with a complete biographical text, a varied and exhaustive one: "in another story that vis-à-vis these subjects seems to be more true." Or: "in many other stories this episode is told differently." Here, Muhammad's life is not summarized—its purpose is neither prefatory nor preparatory; rather, it extends to the narration and the discussion of different versions.[8]

Shifting the analysis just slightly from Sansovino's Turcica to Sansvino's selve, a different and more complex situation emerges, as compared with the *Historia universale*. The miscellaneous paradoxography of the selve lends itself to the *narratio* and to the *variatio* on the theme. All that had been said about Islam and the life of Muhammad by medieval polemicists now merged with what Venetian and European universal historians had added. Morevoer, in his additions to the *Selva*, Sansovino did not disdain to quote the Qur'an, which in the *Historia* he had put aside, preferring the livelier *Dottrina di Macometto*. Though Castrodardo's Italian translation was available to him, he preferred to quote the Qur'an indirectly: he did not use the handy Italian translation of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, but, cautiously, the text filtered from the confutation of the Qur'an by Ricoldo of Montecroce. An obvious indication of the source he used are the names of the suras, for example: "Nondimeno Mahometto contrario a se medesimo, nel capitolo di *Lamar* ch'è interpretato Luna dice: 'S'avicinerà l'hora et la Luna si spezzerà,'" which is a translation of Ricoldo's: "Item in capitulo *Caramar*, quod interpretatur luna, dicitur: 'Appropinquavit hora et luna contrita est.'"[9]

Sansovino subjects his pre-Giovio sources to a new combination of texts. He blends the medieval texts with the translation of Castrodardo's *Fabulae Saracenorum*: with the life and again above all with the fascinating and

Lucianesque *Dottrina di Macometto* previously published in the *Historia universale*. Hence, the two works written in 1560 are related, but their relationship is unidirectional: from the *Historia universale* to the additions to the *Selva*, and not vice versa. In the additions to the *Selva* both the genre and the space allow for more, and thus Sansovino again republished the abstruse and oneiric wonders on the origins of the ban on eating pork and on the creation of the heavens: "the sky was made out of smoke, and the smoke was made out of sea steam, and the sea was made out of a mountain called Caf." Proverbial passages that were to intrigue European readers for centuries to come, among whom were Montesquieu, the prophet and cheese-maker Scolio from Lucca, and the miller Menocchio studied by Carlo Ginzburg.

That these men, so different from each other in terms of social status, could have been impressed by the same text and by the same Italian version of it leads one to think about the success in different contexts of a popular companion on Islam, so far described only as an awkward and unfortunate translation of the Qur'an by European proto-Arabists and by modern scholars of Qur'anic studies. Similarly, this close examination of Sansovino's additions to the *Selva* shows how vital the medieval sources continued to be for knowledge of Islam from the second half of the sixteenth century onward and how they were used for literary purposes.

Only by putting aside the *Historia universale* and analyzing the complexity of the *Selva* was it possible to grasp to what extent the *Alcorano di Macometto* intrigued Francesco Sansovino, as well as to understand the success of our text through Sansovino's rewritings of it. Sansovino knew his readers well. He also knew that the fictional nature of the *Dottrina di Macometto*, with all its wonders, and "which the pious reader will read like the stories of Lucian and Apuleius," was a winner. This was a text that Ricoldo called *liber narrationum* (book of tales) and that for centuries was read as a companion of Muslim vanities. But also it was a Pandora's box of wonderful stories, brimming with "fabulous and amusing things."[10]

CHAPTER 9

A Cheese Maker from Lucca and a Miller from Friuli

In order to grasp the reception of Castrodardo's companion in early modern Europe it is useful to compare Francesco Sansovino's rewriting of the *Alcorano* with the writing and reading practices of two particular readers: the prophet Scolio from Lucca and the miller Domenico Scandella, called Menocchio, studied by Carlo Ginzburg in his most famous book, *The Cheese and the Worms*. This comparison will enable us to understand how people with such different social and intellectual backgrounds reacted when faced with a popular printed text about Islam and its Prophet.

SCOLIO AND THE EYES OF THE ANGELS

Thus the analysis will now move from the polymath Francesco Sansovino to a peasant reader. Studies conducted by Eugenio Donadoni and Carlo Ginzburg have already demonstrated that even a mid-sixteenth-century cheese maker, poet, and prophet from Lucca named Scolio owned a copy of the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Fortunately, a written work exists by Scolio: it is the *Settennario*, a mystical poem in "ottava rima" preserved in a manuscript of about fifty folios in the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca.[1]

Scolio's "curious" three-part *Settennario* contains the visions, the abductions of the prophet Scolio, and the precepts handed over by God to him. Donadoni has summed up its structure as follows. The first part "is a list of visions (1–12); the second is an anthology of commandments and precepts about religious, moral and social life (12–20); the third part, again, collects many others visions and journeys to the sky (20–36)."[2]

Skipping the numerous examples presented by Donadoni to demonstrate that Scolio had read the *Alcorano* and, for now, setting aside Scolio's prophetology, which Ginzburg interpreted in parallel with Menocchio's cosmology under the common denominator of oral, popular, and peasant culture, my focus is the visions themselves; that is, the literary structure on which Scolio built up his religious discourse. Scolio's ecstasies are essentially of two kinds: static and in motion. In the former, Scolio is visited by God under many guises, or else by an angel that cyclically reveals "the precepts." The

vision is essentially passive here: the directions of the vision are from above to below. In the second case, instead, the ecstasy is more active: it is transformed into ascension *ad visionem Dei*.

Scolio's latter passages interest me the most, for they reveal what the prophet from Lucca read in Castrodardo's companion to Islam. Scolio describes the heavens according to the *Dottrina di Macometto*, but he particularly focuses on another section of the text, specifically, on the newly published version of the *mi'rāğ* provided by Castrodardo based on the text by Juan Andrés (1515), translated into Italian by Domingo de Gaztelu (1537), and rewritten, whether allusively or unconsciously, on the basis of his own reading of Dante. As I have already demonstrated, in Castrodardo's memory, Dante's *Comedy* was a lexical gold mine for a rewriting of Muhammad's ascension to heaven. Castrodardo condensed Dante's mystic vocabulary (the third "spera," the "fissi" eyes of the angels, the "cadere" and the "agghiacciare" of Dante as a traveler) in his new version of the mi'rāğ that was written in Italian for the new Italian and Italian-speaking readers.

Among them was the cheese maker from Lucca Scolio, who was curious about the "fabulous fiction" of Muhammad's ascension: that is, Castrodardo's new text published in the introduction of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, which Francesco Sansovino did not take into consideration. The peasant prophet Scolio, perhaps urged by the literary genre he chose, was impressed by the fiction, by the great narrative potential of the new Iberian and Venetian version of the mi'rāğ that he described as "a very misterious vision." It was a vision that was very close to Dante's journey to the afterworld, a story that Bibliander defined as "mire lepida" (very nice), glossing Ricoldo's polemical writings, and that now became truly "lepidior" (much nicer), after Castrodardo's literary and Dantesque rewriting of it.[3]

Many of Scolio's stanzas come close to the mi'rāğ recomposed by Castrodardo. For example, there is the episode of the abduction by a fabulous animal, which reminds us of the *al-burāq*, and which does not have here any allegorical connotation as it does in some Iberian polemics against Islam; or the episode of the great ladder: "In nel seguente poi vidi un romeo, / che scendea giù dal ciel con scala grande" (In the next one I saw a pilgrim / coming down from heaven on a great ladder). The same occurs for the mystical falls:

> In nel sabbato poi mi ritrovai
> in vision sul monte Sinai,
> ecco apparir gran luce ond'io cascai
> a piè del grande Idio che venne lì
> (On Saturday I had a vision
> and found myself on Mount Sinai,
> and a great light shone where I fell
> at the feet of the Great Lord who had come there)

as well as for the episode of the Prophet touched by an angel: "Trovanno in

questo luoco la potenzia / che mi toccò la destra mano e'l fianco" (In that place I found the angel / that touches my right hand and my side). Of course, many of these elements are topical ones in mystical and prophetological tradition, and they can be found in Dante's text. These were very important traditions in sixteenth-century Italy, ones from which Scolio could borrow and that no doubt formed part of his inspiration: we know, in fact, how in a literary genre that deals with journeys to the hereafter erudite and popular tradition were indissolubly intertwined. On the other hand, Eugenio Donadoni himself explicitly recalled some of the passages of the mi'rāğ of the *Alcorano* as parallels that are more than plausible with the vision of the prophet from Lucca:

> Appearing before Muhammad, akin to Scolio, is an Angel "with white wings, exactly as we imagine an angel to be, seated on a golden chair, between heaven and earth". . . . Another time, Mummmad, led by the Angel Gabriel "on an animal of the same color, a cross between a donkey and a mule," is taken to the temple of Jerusalem where, like Our Father in heaven, he finds "all the prophets and messengers sent by God who, showing great cheer, greeted and welcomed Muhammad": hence, he is abducted through the spheres, in the seventh of which, where Christ is, the songs and hosannas are so loud he is forced to cover his ears, the same way "We close our eyes before the bright light that blinds us." He then speaks with God himself, who dictates the precepts to be written in the Qur'an, just as he does for Scolios's *Settennario*.[4]

In short, evident analogies exist. But if we look more closely, other more important analogies emerge, which tell us how Scolio used the *Alcorano di Macometto* and Castrodardo's Dantesque rewriting of the mi'rāğ, and which help our understanding of how the new Iberian and Morisco version of the mi'rāğ by Juan Andrés not only reached erudite and polemical works like those of Guillaume Postel and Angelo Pientini of later Spanish polemicists but, through Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, the literary construction of a popular and peasant prophecy. Thanks to a handy companion in Italian, Islamic traditions reached early modern peasant readers: and the mi'rāğ, after being translated and rewritten, was also consumed as a literary tale, and not just as an absurd and fake miracle to be confuted. While Donadoni did identify Scolio's reading of the *Alcorano*, he did not know the Iberian sources of the *Alcorano* and, therefore, did not stress their importance. I now wish to give a clear example of something that Donadoni only touched on, referring to Scolio, who in God's heaven closes his eyes "before the bright light that blind[ed him]." This motif is typical of the mystical visions, but Scolio's lexical and stylistic choices clearly reflect how he appropriated Castrodardo's text:

> Era lo star in quel sì santo luoco
> sì come star del sole in la gran luce,
> e come stare in mezo d'un gran fuoco

frescho dolce e suave e null'abruce.
Qui non è paragon che non sia poco
a dirvi quanto quel sempre riluce.
Gli ochi tenevam chiusi et fissi in terra,
ma in luce era mutato ciel et terra.
(Being in that holy place,
was like being in the midst of a great light,
like being in the midst of a great
fresh, sweet, and gentle fire that burns nothing.
There is no paragon
that can express its brightness.
We kept our fixed eyes on the ground
But the sky and earth had been transformed into light.)[5]

Scolio's eyes are "fissi in terra" (fixed on the ground), according to Juan Andrés's text rewritten by Castrodardo, which I have already discussed in the analysis of Castrodardo's use of Dante's poem. In the Italian text by Domingo de Gaztelu the angels in the seventh sphere "sempre mai erano inclinati con lo lor capo, senza levarsi." The passage translated the original Spanish: "otros avía que siempre estavan inclinados con sus cabeças, que nunca se alçavan." In Castrodardo's rewriting, the angels kept their eyes fixed on the ground ("li tenivano fissi in terra"), according to adjectives that are commonly found in Dante and from which the above line by Scolio clearly derives: "Gli ochi tenevam chiusi et fissi in terra."[6] Here, Scolio does not seem to be deliberately quoting the *Alcorano di Macometto* as a written source or as his literary model, according to the classicist strategy of allusion and reuse of a text. His appropriation of the text is more complex than Sansovino's. Scolio does not just consciously quote from the Qur'an; it is his involuntary memory as a poet that acts and selects passages from the *Alcorano* that rise to the surface and enter his poem. In other words, it seems that an allusive strategy (the ladder, the animal, the Archangel Gabriel), and thus a hidden memory, involuntary but alive, as a poet, reader, and peasant prophet causes the substrata of two different written traditions to emerge in his stanzas: Dante's *Comedy* and the miʿrāğ, which, actually, already cohabited in the "favolosa fittione" by the Dante scholar and translator Giovanni Battista Castrodardo.[7]

We need to be careful about granting the right level of importance to the combination of Dante's *Comedy* and the *Alcorano* during the construction of the iterative structure of the visions and, in light of this new analysis, reread the famous passage by Carlo Ginzburg that put together and at the same time distinguished the two written "sources" as initiating but not decisive elements for the emergence of Scolio's and Menocchio's oral and peasant culture. According to Ginzburg, "the analogies between Scolio's prophecies and what Menocchio has to say are plain to see," but "they are not explained, obviously, by the presence of common sources—the *Commedia*, the *Corano*—that were certainly known to Scolio and possibly to Menocchio as well." According to the historian "the decisive element is based on a common stratum of traditions,

myths, aspirations handed down orally through the generations. In both cases it had been the contact with the written culture, which took place in school, that had caused this deep layer of oral culture to emerge."[8]

It is commonly known that Ginzburg afforded more importance to oral and peasant culture in order to explain the prophetic and rebellious ideas of the cheese maker from Lucca and the miller from the village of Montereale. Here I wish to emphasize the nature of Castrodardo's text, suggesting that Dante's *Comedy* and the *Qur'an*—as it was known in the medieval and early modern tradition of the *Corpus islamolatinum*—that Ginzburg discussed separately are actually already intertwined in Castrodardo's companion to Islam. They overlap, they blend into a single text and constitute a fictional substratum that surfaces once more in new visions and in new stories.

Analyzing Scolio's practices of reading highlights that in Castrodardo's Iberian, Venetian, and Dantesque version of the mi'rāğ, that is, in the text that Scolio processed and made his own, the *Comedy* and the Islamic traditions diffused by the *Corpus islamolatinum* did overlap and are blended, and therefore cannot be treated only separately. In Castrodardo's companion Muhammad's ascension to heaven is rewritten according to Dante's mystical vocabulary, and this is the version read by Scolio, the cheese maker from Lucca. What Scolio appropriated or came into contact with, therefore, cannot be identified with either Dante's *Comedy* or the Qur'an. Scolio read and processed a mi'rāğ of Iberian and Morisco tradition (1515), translated into Italian by the secretary of the Habsburg ambassador in Venice (1537), rewritten by a young canon of Belluno who worked as an editor and translator in Padua and in Venice (1543–47) and put together a handy companion to Islam (1547) soon after working on his edition of Dante's *Comedy* with "gli argomenti," that is to say, his brief introductory commentaries to each canto (post 1544–ante 1547). In other words, Scolio's eyes "chiusi et fissi in terra" are Dante's, and at the same time they are those of the angels in Castrodardo's rewriting of Muhammad's mi'rāğ.

The success of the *kitāb al-mi'rāğ* in early modern Europe does not seem to have been compromised by its exclusion from Bibliander's encyclopedia. Rather, it received new lifeblood in the widely diffused text by Juan Andrés, and it was also alive in the Franciscan tradition of Francesco Caracciolo and of Francesco Suriano. Through the Morisco Juan Andrés it reached new polemical works, new protoethnographic treatises on the Ottomans, and erudite readers such as Guillaume Postel and the philologist Jacob Golius who wished to reprint Juan Andrés's text with the quotations taken from the Qur'an and the early Islamic historiography in Arabic. But furthermore, the new Iberian and Morisco version of the mi'rāğ that was circulating in early modern Europe took on a new guise: it was remodeled by Castrodardo and, by way of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, it reached many other European readers across social strata and confessional communities. It came, for example, into Scolio's possession. Processed several times and outside a strictly Islamic context, the

legend of Muhammad's ascension to heaven became the literary and fictional substratrum of the *Settennario*. Scolio, among the many variants of his vision, rises up to heaven on an animal and describes his endless, intense dazzlement, the same way Juan Andrés reread by Castrodardo did. His creative memory revives fragments from the text of the *Alcorano* in which the literary culture of its editor and translator are condensed, to the extent that Dante's *Comedy* and the miʿrāğ, in the reformulation by Castrodardo first and Scolio later, at times overlap and are indistinct.

Once again, therefore, we understand something more about the *Alcorano* and its success by taking a look at the fables of Lucian, at the biographical traditions, and at the literary heritage transmitted in its preliminary texts. Castrodardo's very Dantesque miʿrāğ is perhaps the small treasure that the cheese maker Scolio found in the text that disappointed the scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger. It was a literary treasure.

MENOCCHIO, ABRAHAM, AND THE IDOLS

And what about Menocchio? What more can be said about the reading practices of the famous miller from the village of Montereale? Again, Carlo Ginzburg's essay on the cheese and the worms of Domenico Scandella provides the point of departure. Ginzburg refers more than once, and rather cautiously, to the fact that Menocchio may have read a book that could be identified with the *Alcorano di Macometto*. It is a well-known fact that this hypothesis would be based on testimony of Michele Carboni made during Menocchio's second trial for heresy in 1599. Carboni's accusation concerned the close relationship between Menocchio and a Jew named Simon who was converted to Christianity. On August 3, 1599, the witness Carboni, when questioned about the relationship between Menocchio and Simon, stated that the text Menocchio owned "was recognized by that Jew as the *Alcorano*."[9]

It was a text that Menocchio described as being "bellissimo" (very beatiful), and that in those years was still among the books soughts by those who frequented the bookshops around the Rialto Bridge. Ercole Udine, for example, a Mantuan living in Venice, wrote in the spring of 1599 to the duke's counselor Annibale Chieppio (1563–1623) that he had gone to "the shops of many of those booksellers who are my friends and do a lot of business, for the purpose of finding an *Alcorano*, but in this city, to the present time, not a copy of it is to be found. I am told, however, that it can be found in Basel and in the city of Speyer." The book was thus much sought after. And it was circulating in Venice as well as in the Venetian hinterland. It was read in the Dioceses of Belluno and Feltre, as well as in Friuli. It could be found on the tables of notaries and universal historians, as well as in the hands of peasant readers. For instance, a notary from Feltre, Bartolomeo dal Covolo, owned an exemplar of the *Alcorano*. The 1593 inventory of his estate included, in fact, among other books, "L'alcorano di Macometto in ottavo coperto de bergamina." This was in

Feltre, not far from Belluno, in the years between Menocchio's first and second trials. A little farther north, in the village of Primiero, in those days in the territory of the Venetian Diocese of Feltre, another copy of the book was in circulation. The Capuchin monk Serafino of Empoli, a preacher in Primiero, wrote a letter to Bishop Giacomo Rovellio (d. 1610) on May 5, 1588, to inform him of a book by Luther he had found in the local presbytery. It seemed it had been brought there by the customs officer Antonio Girardi, whom the monk had in turn informed that it was a banned book. However, in town there was another heretic named Paulo Scopulo, a member of an important local noble family. Scopulo had told the Capuchin that he owned "the book of l'Alcorano," a book that "says beautiful things"—but things that were forbidden, the preacher had reminded him. The "very beautiful book" perhaps owned by the miller Menocchio (1599) said "beautiful things" to Paulo Scopulo, a reader of Castrodardo's companion in Primiero (1588).[10]

Ginzburg deals with Carboni's testimony with great caution. In referring to the reconstructed list of books owned by the miller, he indicates among the titles recalled during the second trial "an unidentified book that one witness said appeared to be the Qur'an." And further on, again as concerns the list of books, he says: "certainly what stands out in the list (if Menocchio really did read it) is the Qur'an: but this is an exception to be taken into consideration separately." Elsewhere, Ginzburg again stresses his reservations about passages of the text that seem important for understanding his interpretation of Menocchio's reading practices: "We do not have proof that the 'most beatiful book' about which Menocchio had spoken enthusiastically was indeed the Koran: and if we did, we wouldn't be able to reconstruct the way in which Menocchio read it. A text so totally foreign to his experience and culture would have been incomprehensible to him—and would have led him for this very reason to project his own thoughts and fantasies onto the page. But we know nothing about this projection (if it actually occurred)."[11] Ginzburg basically says three things: (1) that if Menocchio had indeed read the *Alcorano*, it would have been in the period between the first and second trials, that is, between 1584 and 1599; (2) that this hypothesis cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt; (3) that the Qur'an would have been "incomprehensible" to him and "totally foreign" to his experience and culture.

The third point seems very interesting to me. Since the 1980s, both in Italy and abroad, Ginzburg has been critized for overestimating the influence of the popular and peasant rather than dominant culture in the construction of Menocchio's cosmological and anti-Catholic thoughts. Writing in the second decade of the twenty-first century, I take as my starting point not the binary opposition between peasant culture and dominant culture, but what Ginzburg identified as "totally foreign" to Menocchio's experience and culture, that is, Islam and its book of revelation. In the passage quoted above, in fact, Ginzburg seems to take back the freedom that he first gave to his miller. Defending Menocchio's autonomy from dominant culture, Ginzburg seems to take a

hegemonic approach to Menocchio's readership: he seems to impose a limit to his individual freedom of comprehending texts and recognizing stories. Ginzburg seems to select Menocchio's readings and decide which texts a sixteeenth-century peasant could or could not have understood. He defends Menocchio's agency in producing new ideas, but he denies his capacity to consume and remember the text of the Qur'an. Thus, Ginzburg treated as the "other" both Menocchio as a peasant and Islam as a religion incomprehensible to a sixteenth-century peasant. Contrary to Ginzburg, I consider that Menocchio would have had the ability to comprehend the Qur'an translated into Italian and to easily recognize the characters whose stories are told in the text, and that the Qur'an was not "totally foreign to Menocchio's experience and culture." Ever since *The Cheese and the Worms* was published, scholars have been rethinking Islam and the Qur'an as part of a long late antiquity and a complex Eurasian world, in which Jewish, Christian, and Muslim textual traditions overlapped and cross-fertilized. This perspective is very useful for understanding the circulation and consumption of the Qur'an and Islamic traditions in early modern Europe as well. From this perspective, I consider that the text was not "totally foreign to Menocchio's experience and culture." Conversely, the Qur'an collected many stories and characters already known to medieval and early modern European readers of texts and images, such as the stories of the patriarchs, or of Mary and Jesus. Perhaps these stories and characters were more familiar to those readers than to us.

But what could Menocchio have read in the Qur'an? And how could he have used it? At the least a trace, a marginal detail hidden in one of Menocchio's responses, that neither Carlo Ginzburg nor Andrea Del Col considered significant could help us to answer this question. Although the reference to the Qur'an emerges only in the second trial (1599), the only concrete and specific possible reference to the text is found in Menocchio's deposition of April 27, 1584, concerning the worship of the saints and their images. This passage of the deposition has been overlooked by Carlo Ginzburg and by Andrea Del Col, the editor of the trials records, as well as by the many later historians who defended the circularity and the stratification of Menocchio's culture. During questioning on April 27, 1584, Menocchio stated as follows: "*Interrogatus respondit*: 'We should not adore their images [of the saints], but only the one God, who created the heavens and the earth. Don't you see that Abraham cast down all idols and all images and adored only one God?'" For Menocchio it was Abraham who smashed the idols and not Moses as Genesis tells us. Carlo Ginzburg makes no reference at all to the episode, while Andrea Del Col heads in a different direction, referring only to the text of Genesis (12: 1–9; 17: 1–27) and commenting as follows: "which speak of the one God of Abraham, but not of idols and images, while it is Moses who smashes the golden calf after his descent from Sinai and receives the divine order to destroy the altars, the pillars, and sacred totems of the Cananite Gods."[12]

Why did Del Col refer only to Genesis, and why didn't Ginzburg stop to discuss this passage? The tradition of Abraham destroying the idols is not biblical but extrabiblical. It cannot be found in the book of Genesis, which is extremely brief in narrating Abraham's childhood (11: 31–32), but in Midrash literature about Abraham's adolescence, especially in the *Bereshit Rabba*, which conflated with the Qur'an itself. In a passage from the *sūrat al-Anbiyā'* (sura of the prophets) (Qur'an 21: 51–68 and especially 57–58), we read about Abraham as an adolescent destroying all his father's false idols: "He broke the statues all into pieces, but left the biggest one for them to return to. They said: 'Who has done this to our gods? How wicked he must be!' Some said: 'We heard a youth called Abraham talking about them.'" The episode was translated into the medieval Latin version (1143) from the original Arabic, and printed four hundred years later in Basel (1543): "*Fregit igitur omnia praeter maximum*, ad quod redirent. Illis deinde quaerentibus, quis hoc perpetrasset, responderunt alii se audisse illud fieri *a quodam puero cui nomen Abraham*. Illum deinceps eorum praecepto in praesentiam hominum, qui testes inde fierent, adductum interrogabant an hoc de suis idolis peregisset. Quibus ille respondit hoc *a maximo superstite* perpetratum esse." Castrodardo's translation in 1547 was as follows: "E così *gli ruppe dal grande infuori*. Domandano adunque chi haveva fatto questo, fu risposto dagli altri che era stato *un fanciullo nominato Abramo*. Menatolo adunque in presenza di molti, addomandavano s'egli haveva fatto questo degl'Idoli, rispose ch'il *grande che era intero* lo havea fatto" (italics added).[13] This Jewish and Islamic tradition is not restricted to Bibliander's encyclopedia and to Castrodardo's translation, but rather seems to have been disseminated throughout Europe and to have reached a miller who was curious about religion. At this point we might question whether this clue is enough to demonstrate that Menocchio read the *Alcorano di Macometto*. One might think there are other means of transmission of this episode: the closeness with the Jewish interlocutors as suggested by the second trial and the encounter with the Jew Simon, the diffusion of apocryphal literature and popular stories about biblical prophets and patriarchs, or the circulation of the *Gospel of Barnabas* in late sixteenth-century Italy. In other words, alongside the textual and Qur'anic line of transmission, there could be other ways of transmitting antique and late antique stories. What is important, though, is to aknowledge that these stories and all their variants also constituted a "common stratum of traditions" of the Eurasian culture Menocchio belonged to. We could read them as different *nostoi* and adventures of the same characters.

Let us now try to understand something more about the possible Qur'anic transmission of this episode among peasant readers. In 2001 David Levine and Zubedeh Vahed listed the episode of Abraham destroying the idols as being among many other hints of Menocchio's reading of the Qur'an. But having provided proof of the reading, they avoided pursuing the matter further. "Was Simon the Jew correct, and was Menocchio's 'most beautiful book' the

Qur'an?" Their answer to this question was: "we now come to that penumbral netherworld—a veritable black hole—of historical uncertainty."[14]

I will attempt to advance the matter here. To do so, I will employ a comparative approach and, as a philologist, I will return to sources. It is already known that the cheese maker Scolio read the *Alcorano di Macometto* and that he constructed the literary structure of his visions through this reading. His *Settennario* has the same episode that describes the adolescent Abraham destroying the idols. The stanza about Abraham, however, is not quoted in Donadoni's study and perhaps this is why the episode is discussed neither by Ginzburg nor by Del Col. Only by going back to the manuscript held in Lucca can we read the stanza about Abraham destroying the idols:

> Al giovinetto Abramo il padre disse
> che per ello in el tempio se n'andasse
> e che finché tornasse a Dei servisse,
> e li accendesse i lumi e li adorasse.
> Partito il padre, Abraam tutti trafisse,
> non lassò alcun che in terra non cacciasse,
> rotto da mazza, con tremendo orrore,
> poi disse li havea rotti il Dio maggiore.
> (Abraham's father told his son
> that he would go to the temple at that time
> and that until he returned his son was to serve the Gods
> lighting the lamps and adoring them.
> When his father left, Abraham destroyed all the Gods
> leaving none of them intact
> destroyed with a club to great horror,
> and at the end he said it was the work of the Greatest God of
> them all.)[15]

Here, just as in the text translated by Castrodardo, Abraham accuses the "Dio maggiore" of having smashed the other gods. In the *Settennario* we read: "li havea rotti il Dio maggiore," in the *Alcorano di Macometto*: "rispose ch'il grande che era intero lo havea fatto." From this comparative and philological approach the hypothesis of a reading and personal appropriation of the text by Menocchio begins to take shape. The episode is so specific that it could serve as the proper lever with which to lift Menocchio's other references to the *Alcorano* such as the description of the nature of the heavens taken from the *Dottrina di Macometto*. If we accept this hypothesis, Scolio and Menocchio could have shared the same readings and been intrigued by the same perhaps unknown but very comprehensible story in the life of Abraham, which does not at all appear to be a projection, a daydream, or an aggressive, distorted, and personal reading of the translation of the Qur'an. Rather, it is a new, both familiar and authoritative, argument to challenge the Catholic worship of images and the veneration of the saints: Abraham himself denied the worship of images. If we look at Menocchio and Scolio from the Bosphorus, we discover

that a poet like Fighānī celebi reacted against the placement of classical statues in the Hippodrome by Ibrahim Pasha, using the homonymy of the grand vizier and the biblical and Qu'ranic patriarch: "Two Abrahams came into the world, / The one destroyed idols the other set them up." The reaction to the ideological program of *translatio imperii* by Ibrahim Pasha, grand vizier from 1523 to 1536, thus used the same motive as the one chosen by the popular European readers, enthralled by the childhood of Abraham, in an anti-Catholic key.[16]

Only by going back to the manuscript version of the *Settennario*, and by using a systematic interdisciplinary approach, was it possible to take a step forward and more clearly suggest that Menocchio could have read the *Alcorano di Macometto*.

This is important even in light of the new studies on the readings of the Venetian rabbi Leon of Modena (1571–1648). Howard Tzvi Adelman has recently shown that Leon of Modena also read *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, suggesting that the rabbi had a more open and positive interpretation of Islam with respect to the sources of Christian and above all Catholic controversy. Adelman analyzes Leon's readings based on a confessional taxonomy of readership, yet without considering that Modena's friends and correspondents, such as Fulgenzio Micanzio, were perspicacious critics and esteemers of the laws of the Saracens as well. But that's not all. Rabbi Leon of Modena jotted down in his notebook passages from the *Alcorano* that concerned Islamic aniconism ("Proibisce le imagini, Cap. 25"), which he read against the Catholic worship of images and saints. Leon of Modena, a few decades after Menocchio, seems to have shared the same readings with the miller for reasons that were not so different: to criticize—albeit starting from different positions—the worship of images. The possible overlap between these two episodes is striking, and speaks volumes about the history of reading: about the ability of peasant readers to assimilate and reuse apparently extraneous motifs, as well as about the connections of readers pertaining to different religious communities and social strata. Leon of Modena, Sansovino, Scolio, and Menocchio, seem to have shared the same reading, reworking on the basis of their own needs and intellectual restlessness Castrodardo's companion to Islam.[17]

But why didn't Carlo Ginzburg stop to discuss the episode of Abraham in Menocchio's deposition? In the middle of the 1970s Ginzburg was certainly looking for something else, and his attention was focused on the struggle between dominant and peasant culture and not on the role of Islam and Islamic culture in early modern Eurasia. The difference between Ginzburg's approach and the one suggested here is certainly due to a different urgency. As concerns this discrepancy a clear example is provided by Zemon Davis in the introduction to her biography of Leo Africanus. While Zemon Davis was studying the Protestants and the Lyonese printers, she chanced upon Leo's description of Africa in the French edition by Jean Temporal. But as she herself says, her "attention then was on something else: on the confrontation of worker with employer and of layman with cleric within the dense life of a

French city, subjects little attended to by the history writing of the 1950s. The encounter between Europe and Africa embedded in the *Description* seemed far away and less urgent." The same can be said for Ginzburg. What Zemon Davis defines as "the encounter between Europe and Islam" appears to be urgent now. Postcolonial studies, connected and global history, and the attention to non-Christian religions, in particular to Islam, undoubtedly informed my education as a scholar and influenced me in proposing a new interpretation of Menocchio's readings. In this regard, however, what seems important to highlight is not the gap between mine and Ginzburg's generation but the great distance between our reading practices and Menocchio's and Scolio's. Perhaps to early modern peasants the Qur'an was a much less "foreign" and "incomprehensible" collection of stories and precepts than it is to twentieth- and twenty-first-century secularized European readers.[18]

Moreover, the fact that Menocchio used an extrabiblical, Midrashic, and Qur'anic tradition to attack the worship of images takes on a different importance today. In this regard it is possible to provide some further detail on the European reception of the relationship between Islam and idolatry. On several occasions, from the classical work by Norman Daniel onward, light has been cast on the European medieval tradition, both popular and erudite as emphasized by John Tolan, of the Muslims as pagan idolaters, venerators of Venus or, even worse, of an antitrinity of false gods composed of Apollo, Muhammad, and Tervagante (the Trivigante of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*). The theme is also discussed at length in Suzanne Conklin Akbari's most recent study for the period 1100–1450. But moving further forward, to the second half of the fifteenth century and especially in the course of the sixteenth century, and the heart of the debate between Catholics and Protestants as concerns the worship of images, we can see how the use of Qur'anic sources, Islamic traditions, and European legends about Islam changes over time. Other traditions are highly successful, no longer the ones taken from the fabulous world of the chansons de geste but from the Qur'an itself.

The cases of Scolio, Menocchio, and Leon of Modena are not isolated. Already in the mid-fifteenth century we read about Abraham destroying the idols in Nicholas of Cusa's confutation of the Qur'an, which indicates the origin of the episode of the idols in the commentaries on Genesis. He knew the anectode of Abraham and the idols that the historians of the twentieth century had overlooked: "Muhammad did not get this [information] from the text of the Ancient Testament, but from an annotation conceived by a Jew to put an end to the objection, often made, concerning the years of Tharah and Abraham; however, this [annotation] is not accepted either by Christians or by the greatest Jewish historian, Joseph."[19]

In the late sixteenth century we again read the episode of the iconoclast Abraham in the Italian version of the *Gospel of Barnabas*, which most likely depends on the Spanish version produced among Iberian Moriscos:

> When every one had departed from the temple, the priests closed the temple and went away. Then Abraham took the axe and cut off the feet of all the idols, except the great god Baal. At its feet he placed the axe, amid the ruins created by the statues, for they, through being old and composed of pieces, fell in pieces. Thereupon, Abraham, going forth from the temple, was seen by certain men, who suspected him of having gone to thieve something from the temple. So they laid hold of him, and having arrived at the temple, when they saw their gods so broken in pieces, they cried out with lamentation: "Come quickly, O men, and let us slay him who hath slain our gods!" There ran together there about ten thousand men, with the priests, and questioned Abraham of the reason why he had destroyed their gods. Abraham answered: "You are foolish! Shall then a man slay God? It is the great God that hath slain them. See you not that axe which he hath near his feet? Certain it is that he desired no fellows."[20]

The *Gospel of Barnabas* circulated in the late sixteenth-century Veneto and was a vehicle for alternative stories about the patriarchs that were also diffused by the Italian translation of the Qur'an. This suggests again the importance of not overlooking the impact of Iberian Morisco traditions in Italy, and encourages delving deeper into the diffusion of sixteenth-century Iberian Orientalism in the Italian peninsula. By following the idols of Abraham, we understand better the familiarity of early modern readers with late antique and Islamic traditions, but also the new political and religious frame within which Islamic culture was used. Scolio recalled and revised the new Iberian and Morisco mi'rāğ by Juan Andrés (1515) rewritten by the Dante scholar Castrodardo (1547). Scolio and Menocchio joined the fray over the worship of images while grasping a Midrashic and Qur'anic tale. In doing so, they went far beyond the medieval literary tradition of the Latin mi'rāğ of the Book of the Ladder and Ricoldo as well as the centuries-long discussion of the evil idolatry of the Muslims. In this respect, we should underline both their distance from medieval anti-Islamic polemics and their familiarity with Midrashic and Qur'anic stories.

"The shrewdness" in "forbidding the worship of images" that contemporary Venetian historians recognized in Muhammad as being a useful *instrumentum regni* in Arabia, which so interested Leon of Modena, had become an instrument in the European religious conflicts, even for a cheese maker from Lucca and a miller from Montereale. In this regard, Scolio's and Menocchio's practices of reading reflect their early modern religious needs, like the literary needs of the editor and publisher Francesco Sansovino. Islamic traditions enter forcefully and under a new guise with respect to the medieval traditions in the midst of the sixteenth-century religious debate.[21]

CHAPTER 10

The Fortune of the *Alcorano di Macometto* and a Conclusion

The episode of Abraham and the idols revealed the new polemical uses of an old Midrashic and Qur'anic tradition. During the sixteenth-century European religious crisis, readers might find in Castrodardo's companion to Islam and in the text of the Qur'an in Italian answers to their own anxieties or confirmation of their convictions. A text of this kind was open to any interpretation, depending on the reader's attitude toward Islam. In this respect, revealed texts worked to perfection. "There may be contradictions in some instances, but which laws do not contain some?" were the words addressed to Francesco Redi in the seventeenth-century report on the *Alcorano di Macometto*. This was even more evident in the Qur'an, a text traditionally read using the exegetical principle of the abrogating and abrogated verses that aimed to resolve the contradictions of a revelation protracted in time. Readers thus could find in it verses that both supported and refuted religious toleration about salvation, for example, as was keenly noted by Ricoldo of Montecroce.[1]

Italian and Italian-speaking readers could find in Castrodardo's companion to Islam something that fit their needs. They could find the anti-Habsburg propaganda hidden in the oration of Sergius the Monk, the portrait of Muhammad the lawgiver that was so much to the liking of Francesco Redi's circle, and explicit attacks against the corruption of the clergy in the very translation of the Qur'an: "Good men, reprimand the clergy who feed on the work of other men." Similarly, the reader intrigued by the Spanish *pecadillo*, that is, by the diffused Antitrinitarianism, would not have found it hard to read the countless verses that asserted the *tawḥīd* (the Oneness of God). In verses such as the following the Trinity is denied, and the *širk* (the association of other gods to Allāh) and the divine nature of Christ are condemned: "Believing thus in God you cannot assert that there are three gods as there is only one, without a son"; or "it must be known that those who say that Jesus, Son of Mary, is God are not believers," "Christ was none other than a messenger of God, like many before him, and his mother was a woman," and so on. These were messages that, though confuted in the marginal notes, circulated under or precisely because of those polemical marginalia. Anyone who wanted to find a confirmation of the dogma of predestination in the

Qur'an, or the justification by faith alone, could have read the following verses in Italian: "And you will say that if only God wanted it to be so, all men on earth would believe in Him. Perhaps you think you can force people to believe? No one can believe in God without wanting to, a God who allows evil men to continue carrying out their evil deeds. It is evident that he offers no relief, either in heaven or on earth, nor does he offer miracles or virtues, to those who do not believe." And anyone drawn to universalism would not have disdained passages such as "and if he wanted to he would bring all the sects together, they would become one."[2]

Conversely, a zealous Catholic missionary would have been able to follow different verses and focus his attention on other directions. For example, on the numerous passages that affirm the value of works as concerns salvation: "on the last day God will acknowledge all the good deeds done . . . and all men will benefit from the deeds they carried out," or "those who do good will receive a benefit that is equal to their deeds." Readers would also have been able to focus on the polemical marginalia, as have the historans who have studied the text, and in particular on the ones published in the margin of the sura that Castrodardo, following the process that had been initiated by Robert of Ketton, transformed into the very chapter on the Islamic and Catholic purgatory. Yes, there was something for everyone, and music for all ears. In fact, in spite of its omissions, oversights, misunderstandings, contextualizing rewritings, and polemical distortions, the translation of the Qur'an that had so disappointed Scaliger and those who came after him somehow informed the contemporary public of the dogmas of Islam. In its complexity the text lent itself to a host of interpretations, and it should come as no surprise that from the very start it aroused a great deal of curiosity across different social strata and confessional communities. In short, unlike what has often been recorded, it was rather successful with the public.[3]

The book's success was long lasting and most importantly it was immediate. The first readers were in fact the members of the intellectual and diplomatic circles in Venice for whom it had been written. If Ludovico Castelvetro and Giovanni Leonardo Sartori (c. 1500–56) owned exemplars of Bibliander's encyclopedia (1543), Giulio Maresio from Belluno owned Postel's *De orbis terrae concordia* (1544), while Diego Hurtado de Mendoza both volumes. If the Marquess of Oria Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio owned Widmanstetter's epitome of the Qur'an (1543), Pier Paolo Vergerio was instead a witness to the sudden success of the *Alcorano di Macometto* in the vernacular. In 1554 Vergerio complained of the greater severity in condemning the *Beneficio di Cristo* with respect to the laxness toward the Milesian tales of Lucian and the Qur'an of those who sympathized with Islam: "if you run into an atheist who is a reader of Lucian or some half-Turk with the *Alcorano*, say nothing, in spite of your disapproval of his behavior."[4]

The Milesian tales and the Qur'an, together once more here, were of less concern to the Italian authorities than the incendiary pamphlet of the *Beneficio*

di Cristo. Nonetheless, in the mid-sixteenth century there must have been lots of "half-Turks" curious about the *Alcorano di Macometto*, for instance, among the people involved in the religious movements gathered under the label of radical Reform or people who said that Christ was just a prophet, and that were fascinated, in an Antitrinitarian key, by the Islamic dogma of the Oneness of God. This fascination in Europe was so deep and widespread that it led to the composition of highly original polemical works. In 1548 Bartolomej Georgijević tried to demonstrate the presence of the dogma of the Trinity in the text of the Qur'an.[5]

In Venice, among the "half-Turks" evoked by Vergerio, there was the Neapolitan Giulio Basalù, who in March 1555 admitted to having read "a few pages of the *Alchorano*." The same was true for the Antitrinitarian Valentino Gentile (c. 1520–66), whose papers included extracts of the Qur'an. We do not know whether in these cases the sources refer to Castrodardo's companion, but there is a chance that this was so: this was after all the text that had recently been printed in Venice, in Italian, and not yet condemned by the *Index of Forbidden Books*. Also, the *Alcorano* was dedicated to the Baron d'Aramon, whose mission on the Bosphorus had served as a bridgehead for the nonconformist religious propaganda and political refuge in the Levant. In other words, Castrodardo's companion was a book that fulfilled the new Antitrinitarian and protolibertine needs diffused among the Italian Anabaptists and the radical Waldesians led by Basalù's cousin, Girolamo Busale. Soon afterward, between 1558 and 1563, and later as well, the groups linked to the Venetian and European company of Niccolò Pellizzari and his brothers were active: these were silk and book merchants who championed the Reformation, and who intended to disseminate throughout Europe and the Mediterranean the Bibles published in Geneva and the works of Erasmus, Calvin, Machiavelli, and Postel. Among these books, hidden in crates or in bales of silk, was the Qur'an as well.[6]

It is also certain that Guillaume Postel, who was in Venice between 1547 and 1549, that is, during the years when he was linked to and supported the prophet Mother Joanna, owned a copy of the *Alcorano* as he himself tells us: "altero Legato regio est inscripta Alcorani in lingua vulgari expositio." The book was dedicated to "Gabriel Aramontius, Legatus regius apud Turcarum principem" whom he was soon to meet in Jerusalem, where he would purchase manuscripts in Arabic and Syriac with the help of the dragoman Faḍlallāh ibn Ğirğis and enabled by the generosity of d'Aramon himself. An exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, owned by Postel, was later found in the warehouses of his guest Luca Antonio Giunti the Younger and burned in 1570. We already know that among French readers the *Alcorano* would disappoint Joseph Justus Scaliger, that an exemplar ended up in the library of Antoine de Laval (1550–1631), and that it was perhaps read by Montesquieu. Montesquieu, in fact, owned Castro-dardo's companion, and in his Persian letters he seems to amusingly quote the tales of the *Dottrina di Macometto*.[7]

Also in Venice, during the tempestuous 1540s, the convents headed by Baldassarre Altieri and the British ambassador Edmund Harvel held copies of the Qur'an. Guido Giannetti from Fano, who sympathized with the Schmalkaldic League and was linked to the British Embassy (1545–47), owned an exemplar of the Qur'an that can in all likelihood be identified with Arrivabene's edition. Examining the names of some of the secret agents and European travelers and translators between Venice and England, we find still other surprises.

Indeed, a great number of exemplars of the book crossed the Channel in the sixteenth century. An exemplar of it in Oxford bears these words granting permission to read it by the Venetian authorities: "da licentia del R(everendo) padre Inquisitore in Vinetia si ritiene questo"; and it was read by a Henry Price and a Thomas Horner. Another exemplar, kept in the Cathedral Library of Exeter, conceals an even deeper story, as it contains several notes regarding its possession. On the title page under the date it reads "Tho Hoby," and on the bottom it again reads "Thomas Hoby," next to the motto "Tendis in ardua virtus" (Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 2: 2, 113) and the date "1553." In the second front free endpaper we again come across the date "1553," the name "Th. Hoby," and the following comment written in Italian, signed, and dated: "Questo è un libro non men mendoso che ridiculoso, cioè l'osservanza de Turchi et l'abominanda religione di Macometto. Thomas Hoby, 23 Novembr(e)1564." The same hand, having finished the reading, penned a note on the first front free endpaper: "Fine di questo maledetto et impio libro che contiene la fede del Diavolo et suo ministro Macometto, figliuolo d'iniquità." On page 100*v* we find another note describing ownership, again in Italian, which records this information: "Questo libro fu di Guglielmo Thomaso." That Italianate readers annotated their books on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Italian is more common than might be believed. I am reminded of one of the three annotators of an exemplar of the *Alcorano* kept at the British Library, who often wrote in the margin of Castrodardo's text in an unsteady and French-sounding Italian. For example, a note to the introduction reads: "eletto 648 par Chefaga."[8]

Who exactly were the readers of the Exeter exemplar of the book? The first of the two readers is easily identified. Thomas Hoby (1530–66) was none other than the English translator of the *Book of the Courtier* (1561) and the stepbrother of the diplomat Philip Hoby. Philip was active in Venetian circles in the mid-sixteenth century as proven by the many letters written by Aretino (1547, 1548, 1549), in which he beseeched him to intercede in favor—curiously enough—of Baldassarre Altieri. Thomas Hoby was a traveler and a translator, who was attracted to Italian literature and nonconformist religious texts. He translated a work by Martin Butzer and claimed to have translated the *Tragedia del libero arbitrio* by the Bassano-born and former Benedictine monk Francesco Negri. He also wrote a detailed European travel diary in which he painstakingly recorded where he went and whom he met and spent time with. Among them was the Welshman William Thomas, with whom, according to

some, he collaborated on the translation of the *Book of the Courtier*. The two first met in Butzer's house (1548) and it is a fact that they participated in the embassy of the bishop of Norwich to the imperial court of 1553, a date that appears twice on the Exeter copy of the *Alcorano*. This might lead us to conclude, as has occurred before, that "Guglielmo Thomaso" is indeed the Welshman William Thomas, that is, the author of *The Historie of Italie* (1549) and one of the first to make Machiavelli known in England.[9]

Thomas Hoby arrived in Venice in 1548, by way of Martin Butzer's Strasbourg; the road he took was the exact opposite of the one chosen by Francisco de Enzinas and Pietro Bizzarri. Hoby's munificent host was Edmund Harvel, and he began to study Italian "to have a farther entrance in the Latin." There, he dreamed of boarding a large galley and sailing toward Syria: "to goo with the great gallies into Sorria." The galleys that returned from the Levant aroused the interest and euphoria of English Italianate and French *italianisants* scholars, especially the younger ones, with ties to diplomatic circles. A few years before, between 1537 and 1544, Jerôme Maurand had had the same experience while on the Provençal coastline, as he listened to the tales of those who returned from the Bosphorus: "having heard the tales of those who returned from the Bosphorus, I felt both the desire and the will, as the possibility indeed existed, of going to see Constantinople." So he had set sail, in 1544, on the galleys of Escalin des Aymars and of Gabriel d'Aramon.[10]

It would come as no surprise, therefore, if the hypothesis concerning "Guglielmo Tomaso" were true. Hoby and Thomas crossed paths on many occasions between 1548 and 1553, and together with Richard Morison they formed a triumvirate of Italianiate scholars at the court of Edward VI. William Thomas was in Italy between 1545 and 1548, he disseminated Reformed books, and he mingled in the same circles as Hoby: it was thanks to Harvel's intercession that he was able to get around his pending judicial problems in England, which is why he had escaped to Venice in the first place. Like Hoby, he wrote works that were key to a knowledge of Italy in the Anglo-Saxon world, as well as an anti-Catholic defense of Henry VIII, dedicated to Aretino, published in Italian in 1552 as *Il pellegrino inglese* (The English Pilgrim). But there is more to William Thomas. In 1551 he translated and offered "as a New Year gift to the young King" the travels of Giosafat Barbaro to Tana and Persia, which appeared in the collections curated by the heirs to Aldus Manutius (1543, 1545), revealing a literary interest in the journey to the Levant that was very widespread in European circles that sympathized with Italy.[11]

It seems that among English translators there was widespread interest in the *Alcorano di Macometto* and the Italian *Turcica*: there were other English owners of Castrodardo's text in the sixteenth century as well. One of them was Henry Parker Lord Morley (1476–1556), the translator of Poliziano, Masuccio, and Boccaccio, and especially known for his translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Parker sympathized with the Catholics, and in a pamphlet condemning the violence caused by the religious wars, he sought support—according to a

pratice also followed by Castellione of the *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (1554)—from Islam in order to attack and condemn Protestant barbarisms. As he himself suggests, his examples come from Castrodardo's text: "I professe I have redde Alkarom Machometts lawe lately translatyd into the Italyen tonge."[12]

Nor did Henry Parker disdain Italian Orientalism. He translated Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi*, dedicating it to Henry VIII as "recreation and pastyme," that is, as a pleasant work of history and literature. The spread of Italian literature and culture in Europe cannot be separated from the diffusion of Italian Orientalism. Or looking at it another way, Italian Orientalism in Europe traveled along the same paths as Italian literature and historiography. The interest in the *Alcorano di Macometto* on the part of Italianate Englishmen helps us to understand that literary scholars diffused the translation of the Qur'an in Europe and not just Arabists and scholars of Oriental languages. Exiles *religionis causa*, political exiles, secret agents, and European i*talianisants* were the protagonists of the diffusion of Italian Orientalism abroad. If we take another look at this well-known, certainly neither unique nor univocal line of the conveyance of Italian culture in Europe, we find other readers of Castrodardo. A member of the following generation, Giacomo Castelvetro (1546–1616), an illustrious exile and an attentive reader of all things Turkish, also owned a copy of the *Alcorano di Macometto*.[13]

It was above all from the seventeenth century that this text was used by British scholars of Arabic studies. The first among them was John Selden, who owned two copies of the book, one of which is kept in Oxford, the other in the library of Gloucester Cathedral. There exists another exemplar in England, this one with ownership inscriptions, and part of the numerous collection of Italian and Spanish *Turcica* in the library of the jurist Robert Ashley (1565–1641), most of which is now in Middle Temple Library in London. Ashley translated into English the historical work on the Arab conquest of Spain attributed to Miguel de Luna (1545–1615), dedicated to Charles I under the title *Almansor, the Learned and Victorious King That Conquered Spaine* (1627). Ashley's copy had passed through the hands of Italianate Englishmen, hitherto unidentified, who wrote sayings and ownership inscriptions in Latin, such as "De Thomaeo Palmer," and wittily also in Italian: "Di Guglielmo Palmer Addio ed io," just as Thomas Hoby and perhaps William Thomas had done. It comes as no surprise to find a copy of the *Alcorano* in Ashley's personal library: the time was ripe to fully appreciate, as was happening in Francesco Redi's Florentine circles, the protolibertine and legislator Muhammad, proposed in the oration by Sergius the Monk as well as on the woodcut title page.[14]

The *Alcorano di Macometto* was read more widely than has been believed so far. If it circulated widely in Venice, and from there to continental Europe and England, then it was also diffused throughout Italy and arrived in Tuscany. Proof of this can be found in the detailed report that the friend of

Francesco Redi wrote for him, and in a few book lists. There is, for instance an "Alcorano di Maccommetto" in the inventory of Inghiramo di Girolamo Inghirami (1579) from Prato, and it would also be among the books read in the eighteenth century by Pietro Maria Tempesti from Empoli, a knight of the Order of Saint Stephen. Moreover, it was disseminated in the second half of the sixteenth century, far from Italy, to the rest of the Mediterranean. A copy of the book was found in Constantinople by the Lutheran preacher Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622), the German translator of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, who settled on the Bosphorus between 1578 and 1581. There he devoted himself to the study of the Italian language, and translated Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus* from German to Italian, with the following dedication: "to the poor Christians who are slaves to the Grand Turk, in Constantinople, and in the other places scattered throughout Turkey, mainly Germans, Hungarians, and Chroatians." Once he had become fluent in Italian, he translated the *Alcorano* into German, thus paving the way for the text to be diffused in central Europe in a new version that was highly successful during the seventeenth century: it was printed in 1616, 1623, 1659, and 1664. A version in Dutch would also be based on the German version (1641). Italian Orientalism spread throughout Europe under the aegis of *italianisants* trends; its circulation owed much to the prestige of the Italian language and culture; it traveled through the Alps in the bags of the peddlers and exiles *religionis causa*; and it also arrived on the continent as a side effect of Reformed religious propaganda in the Mediterranean.[15]

We also know that until the eighteenth century, Italian translations of the Qur'an were circulating in Malta, and that among the readers or would-be readers of Castrodardo's book, there were even a few renegades—some "half-Turk," that is, who, "by force or by love," as Castrodardo wrote, had become Muslim. One of them was the Frenchman Thomas/Osman d'Arcos, who around 1630 wrote to Peiresc (1580–1637) from Tunisia asking for a copy of the Latin or of the Italian Qur'an: the most common printed translations available before du Ryer's French printing of it (1647). This testimony would seem to give credence to the hypotheses advanced by De Frede as concerns Arrivabene's commercial intentions: that the text had also been conceived for a readership of Italian-speaking European renegades. In other words, it was intended for renegades who renounced the baptism of Christ to discover in the midst of the Ottoman Empire economic well-being, freedom of customs, and the chance for rapid social ascension. After all, Thomas/Osman d'Arcos's request was a wholly legitimate one and must be viewed within its Tunisian context. We envisage a multilingual city, in which Italian, since 1571, was the consular and diplomatic language of France as well as of the other European nations in Tunisia. Not to be overlooked, alongside the requests of this European renegade, is the translation process that had been initiated in the seventeenth century by the Iberian Muslims expelled from Spain in 1609. In the second half of the seventeenth century in Tunisia, for example, one

Muhammad Rubio commissioned and paid out of his own pocket for the translation, from Arabic to Castilian, of a volume of three Islamic treatises for the non-Arabophone Aragonese Muslim community which he was a member of. Added to this is the fact that, in the seventeenth century, the sale of books between geographical and confessional boundaries in the Mediterranean was ongoing. Another Tunisian example is the case of Philip, prince of Tunisia, a Muslim convert to Catholicism who corresponded with Athanasius Kircher. In September 1650 he wrote to the Jesuit, beseeching him to send him "as soon as possible . . . a book written in Arabic against the Qur'an similar to the one you once sent me from Sicily."[16]

Arrivabene and Castrodardo's readership thus also included European renegades. Both the publisher and the editor of the book were familiar with the phenomenon of conversion that was spreading especially in Italian port cities. Castrodardo went on at length about an exemplary conversion narrated "to confuse those who from France and from Spain and from Italy go to Turkey, and to enjoy the goods of this world renounce baptism and Blessed Jesus Christ."[17] Renegades and Christian slaves in the hands of the sultan were also the public that Salomon Schweigger would address in his Italian translation of Luther's catechism (1581). The same could be said for Rome as concerns the publishing strategies of Lazzaro Soranzo (1598), Giovanni Botero (1599), and Antonio Possevino (1593 and 1598), which would lead to the polyglot printing press of Propaganda Fide.

Soranzo suggests publishing "easy, ingenious books written in the Slavonic language and in Arabic" to convert, in an insurrectional key, the military elite of the Janissaries. Botero put forward the idea of publishing simple and manageable books so that "we can earn more with small books as compared with large ones as they are handier and easier to understand; the doctrine they contain is condensed and simple and thus more suited to achieving good results." A wholly pragmatic, economic, and political-religious strategy: "large books are expensive to print, they are read by few, and they are understood by even fewer." On the contrary "it's easy to print small books and anyone can buy, read and understand them." And that is indeed what Lutherans in Italy and Europe did, who, "because they are the children of darkness are more astute and cunning than us, they do not write or publish large books, but only certain small books with very few pages that can be bought at a low price and can be read quickly. And because they circulate in the hands of booksellers and peasants, at fairs and markets, they fill the city and now the countryside with heresy." Thus the idea was to print a specific type of product for a well-defined readership, not just for an elite body like Soranzo's Janissaries but for the conversion of all those renegades who had not entered the higher ranks of the Ottoman imperial army and bureaucracy. In fact, "the multitude that becomes commonly heretical not because it is evil but, owing to its leaders, is not hard to convert. We have a similar example among the renegades as we know that no renegade who reached the rank of Basha or Vizier or Beylerbei among the

Turks or a similar position has ever been converted." Possevino knew that the books "in many languages" were "very useful" and that many among the Ottomans were familiar with the European languages, first among which was Italian. He also advanced the idea, as did Botero, of the "diffusion" of books among the Christian slaves of the Ottomans: "giving them so many good books was of great comfort as well as of considerable assistance."[18]

Hence, the readers of the *Alcorano di Macometto* were European political and religious refugees fleeing to the Ottoman Empire, diplomats accustomed to the ports of the eastern Mediterranean, renegades to whom to offer return and salvation, consular and embassy physicians, or simply merchants who needed to be cautioned. Arrivabene and Castrodardo addressed readers who, in their native countries or on their journey toward the Muslim East or West, had to deal with Muslims, be they enemies or dangerous allies. Castrodardo's annotations often contained information about current events: a fragment of the Latin paratext, "Infida igitur cum Machumetistis amicitia" (Bibliander 1: 22), was transformed into a wholly contemporary warning to be careful in dealing with Muslims: "The friendship of the infidels is therefore not loyal. So Christians should be cautious in doing commerce with the Turks." Nowadays we would probably refer to all these figures as cultural mediators, but then they were ambassadors, consuls, refugees, renegades, soldiers, spies, and merchants; and pilgrims and missionaries as well. We know, for example, that in 1580 the first Jesuit mission to see the Mogul emperor Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar (1542–1605, r. 1556–1605) brought a translation of the Qur'an to India. And even more specifically that in 1598 the Jesuit Jerónimo Xavier (1549–1617), while writing his *Mir'āt al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness), that is, a life of Christ in Persian for a Muslim readership, asked the superior general of the Society of Jesus in Rome to send a Qur'an to India in Italian, Latin, or Spanish. Although his request was never fulfilled, it does say a lot about the success or rather—more of interest to us—the reputation of Castrodardo's text: it was a text that was requested by Scaliger in Poitiers (1576), Jerónimo Xavier at the court of Akbar (1598), and the renegade d'Arcos on the African Barbary Coast (1630). We can thus view the *Alcorano di Macometto* in a broader and not exclusively European framework: here was a book that was born in a Euro-Mediterranean diplomatic context and also spread beyond Europe's geographical and cultural borders.[19]

But there is something else as well. In addition to its printed edition, the *Alcorano di Macometto* also spread in manuscript form. Over the course of the eighteenth century, it was copied at least twice, which should come as no surprise considering that manuscript versions were also made from Bibliander's Latin text. The scribal circulation of such printed texts is understandable: the *Alcorano* had been condemned by the *Index* of 1564 and although it continued to be read, it was probably hard to get hold of a copy. One copy of the Italian text was compiled in Russia, and it is currently lost. The other copy is still kept in the Bancroft Library of Berkeley. In other words,

though it was replaced by du Ryer's French Qur'an (1647) as well as by its numerous translations, Castrodardo's companion continued to circulate, its seventeenth-century translations and rewritings arousing great interest. Rather well known are the German (1616) and Dutch (1641) versions; much less so were the Hebrew and Spanish translations produced among Sephardim in Venice and northern Europe.[20]

Studies carried out by Hava Lazarus-Yafeh have already shown that a Hebrew translation of Castrodardo's *Alcorano* spread in the Jewish communities in Italy and northern Europe over the course of the seventeenth century and afterward. This new version, for which we do have four manuscripts, may have been composed as suggested by the colophon of one of them in 1636 in Venice by Rabbi Jacob ben Israel ha-Levi (d. c. 1634). The four manuscripts bear the signs of the *Alcorano*'s diffusion: the first one was drafted in Venice in 1636, the second one was copied in Amsterdam in 1653, the third one was copied in India in the eighteenth century, while the last one, on the basis of evident material clues, seems to be a nineteenth-century copy.[21]

In the seventeenth-century Venetian Jewish community, that there was an interest in an Italian Qur'an printed a century before and circulating in Venice should not be surprising. In those years, Castrodardo's companion was still being sold in Venetian bookshops and copied by young readers. We know, for example, from the trials against the bookseller Salvatore de' Negri (1628–61) that Bartolomeo Toaldo, a twenty-four-year-old native of Marostica, had bought from the bookseller under investigation a copy of the old Arrivabene *Alcorano*. During his voluntary appearance in court on April 2, 1654, Bartolomeo confessed to having purchased the book for the Paduan Camillo Marzari (d. 1683), in all likelihood the author of the *Sentieri compendiosi* (1656, 1664), a collection of political and moral precepts. The young Bartolomeo also swore that he had read and copied some of the passages from the book. His exact words were: "I read a part of them, and I copied several pages which I then delivered to a gentleman from Padua named Giacomo Zabarella who, I am told, tore them up."[22]

In the same decades and for different reasons, Castrodardo's companion was read, annotated, commented on, and collected by the poet Alessandro Tassoni—who discussed the custom of wearing a veil among Spanish women—John Selden and Ludovico Marracci, Robert Ashley, and one of Francesco Redi's friends. The same took place in Venice, among monks, librarians, political writers, and the most well-known rabbis in the ghetto. Among them, there was Rabbi Leon of Modena, who corresponded with John Selden and Gabriel Naudé, and who read, copied, and commented on the *Alcorano di Macometto*. Howard Tzvi Adelman, who has studied Modena's life and works for some time, recently discussed his notes on Castro-dardo's text, pointing out that a positive image of Islam emerges, to be used polemically against the followers of Christ. The title Leon Modena gave to his reading list was "The Teachings of Muhammad Present in His Alcorano, from Which One Can

Deduce That Their Law Is Neither Beastly nor Senseless," followed in Hebrew by the words *kedivrei ha-noṣrim* (as the Christians say) and in the Latin alphabet "by Andrea Arrivabene." The subjects in the list included monotheism, the worship of images, the nature of Christ, free will, but also the Christian minorities in the Levant according to the lists of the Latin Al-Kindī published in Bibliander and translated by Castrodardo. Leon of Modena, a polemicist against the Christian cabala, might also have read with interest all those cabalistic annotations borrowed from Widmanstetter, which Francesco Sansovino found to be so useless and obsolete. Above all, he shared with Menocchio the same Islamic source to criticize the Catholic worship of images and saints.[23]

In the political, literary, and religious use and reuse of Castrodardo's companion, European Jews also played a part, and not necessarily with great openness with respect to the contemporary readers of Christian confession and dissimulated political and religious interests. Many of them, as demonstrated by Redi's friend and people close to Leon of Modena himself, such as Fulgenzio Micanzio, read the history of Islam in a political key without consideration for the religious polemics and controversy.

Leon of Modena died in 1648. But the success of the text that the rabbi leafed through with such interest did not stop in Venice. On the path that leads from Venice to the Sephardic community of Amsterdam, Harm den Boer has discovered yet another unpublished chapter of this story. It was in Amsterdam that in 1653 a copy of the Hebrew version of the *Alcorano di Macometto* was drafted, and it was also there, in the second half of the seventeenth century, that a Spanish version was compiled, apparently from the Italian text. It was written in Castilian that brimmed with Portuguese nuances, and according to a process of cultural domestication and translation that reveals the origin and the areas of dissemination of this new Sephardizing *Alcorano di Macometto*. At the end of the translation are applied biographical fragments taken from the *Confutación del Alcoran* by the Spaniard Lope de Obregón (Granada, 1555). The three rings of Mediterranean monotheism continued to be linked together between Italy, Spain, and northern Europe. Only by considering this complexity of inputs and conflicts can we analyze this new European Qur'an with the attention it deserves—a manuscript to be read next to Castrodardo's companion and in a continuous comparison with the four manuscripts of the Hebrew version.[24]

However, the story of the *Alcorano di Macometto* was not all success, or fortune. This needs to be tempered by recalling the failure or misfortune of its purgatory among early modern Sephardim in Europe. Castrodardo, following the model of the medieval *Corpus islamolatinum*, had reduced the long Latin azoara to a two-page text. Then, by working both on the text and the Latin paratext, and by filling the margins with Widmanstetter's apologetic marginal note, he had turned the Qur'anic al-aʿrāf (The Heights, the limit that cannot be crossed), into a middle and transitory place of waiting and purgation. That is

to say, in a finished and perfect purgatory: a wholly Catholic, Italian, and Dantesque one. The corresponding passage in the Amsterdam manuscript takes a completely different direction, rather far removed from Roberto Bellarmino, who found confirmation in the Qur'an of the belief in purgatory, and closer to the Lutheran outcomes. This Sephardic rewriting of the *Alcorano di Macometto* did not reckon with any sort of purgation. Here in the middle ground were the most evil souls: "entre estos a estos una estancia mediana, entre el Imfierno y el Paraísso, adonde estarán algunos otros de aquellos que fueron más malos," and no longer the souls who were waiting and hoping to get into heaven. As the Italian text said: "con speranza et espettatione del Paradiso."[25]

This Spanish translation of the *Alcorano* is part of the posthumous life of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's companion, which was Italian, European, and in all likelihood also extra-European. Castrodardo's new Iberian, Venetian, and Dantesque version of the mi'rāǧ acted on Scolio's prophetic memory. The speech on the use of "simulated religion" by Sergius the Monk reached Castrodardo's fellow citizen Giovanni Niccolò Doglioni and Florentine readers of the second half of the seventeenth century. Castrodardo's summaries of Arabic-Latin historiography about early Islam and the Milesian tales of the *Dottrina di Macometto* fueled the pages of Sansovino's universal history and Sansovino's additions to Pedro Mexía's literary selve. Abraham's idols entered the debate on the worship of images that interested both the rabbis of Venice and the millers of Friuli. And, lastly, Castro-dardo's Islamic and Catholic purgatory made its fortune in Italy, but fell into disgrace among the Sephardim of northern Europe. There is no memory of this in the streets of the city of Belluno. The end of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's life seemed to fade deliberately into obscurity, while the conflicts between the factions and the confessions continued, then as now, to inflame both people and texts.

FIRST STATE

L'ALCORANO | DI MACOMETTO. | LA VITA, LA DOT- | TRINA, I COSTVMI | ET LE SVE LEGGI | Nuouamente dal Arabo | tradotto in uolgare. | Con Gratie, e Priuilegi | M D XLVII

[4], xxxviii, 100; 4°

✚4 a-i4 k2 A-2B4

✚2*r*, dedicatory letter: ALLO ILLVSTRISS. SIGNOR | GABRIEL DE LVOES SIGNOR D'ARAMON, | CONSEGLIERO DELLA MAESTA CHRI | STIANISSIMA ET AMBASCIATORE | APPRESSO IL SIGNOR TVRCO |

✚4*v*: Di V. Illustriss. S. | Minimo seruitore Andrea Arriuabene. |

✚4*v*: sonnet (Paolo Crivelli):
Come il gran Re del ciel Gabriel elesse |

a1: absent

a2*r*: LA VERA VITA DI MACOMETTO, | tratta dall'historie di christiani. |

c3*r*: Della religione de' Turchi. | CAPITOLO. II. |

g4*r*: Il matrimonio de Turchi. |

i1*r*: L'afflittione de Christiani schiaui. |

k1*r*: La conditione de Christiani ne Paesi | de Turchi. |

k2*r*: *IL FINE. |

k2*v*: blank

A1r: IL PRIMO LIBRO | DELL'ALCORANO | DOVE DIMOSTRASI CON QVAL | PESSIME ARTI HEBBE PRINCIPIO | L'IMPERIO E' LA RELIGIONE | DI MACOMETTO. | Le cose prime da Dio create. | CAPITOLO. I. |

A1*v*: La generatione di Macometto. | CAPITOLO. II. |

B2*r*: La Natiuità di Macometto. | CAPITOLO. III |

B4*r*: La Nodritura di Macometto. | CAPITOLO. IIII. |

C2*v*: La Vita i costumi la forma la statura, | e l'oppinioni di Macometto. | CAPIT. V. |

D1*v*: Di Eubocara successore di Macometto. | CAPITOLO. V. |

D2*r*: Aomar successore di Eubocara. | CAPITOLO. VI. |

D2*v*: Odmen successore d'Aomar. | CAPITOLO. VII. |

D3*r*: Ali successore di Odmen. | CAPITOLO. VIII. |

D4*r*: Alhacen successore di Ali. | CAPITOLO. IX. |

D4*v*: Moauui successore di Alacen. | CAPITOLO. X. |

E1*r*: Iezid successore di Moauui. | CAPITOLO. XI. |

E1*v*: La Dottrina di Macometto. | CAPITOLO. XII. |

F4*v*: IL FINE DEL PRIMO LIBRO DI GRANDE | Auttorità appresso de Sarracini, auenga che sia colmo di Bugie, | Fittioni, Buffonerie, Superstitioni, Vanità, | biastemmie, Fauole, e Sogni. |

G1r: IL SECONDO LIBRO | DELL'ALCORANO | NEL QVALE SI CONTIENE |

LA LEGGE DE SARRACINI | IMPOSTAGLI DA | MACOMETTO | La Oratione de Macomettani chiamata da loro | Madre dell'Alcorano. |

Then, the Italian translation of the *fātiḥa* or "the opening chapter of the Qur'an":

IN nome di Dio misericordioso, e Pio. Signore | dell'Vniverso, e Giudice del di del giuditio, sem-| pre lodato, Ti preghiamo, in te confidiamo, Mettici | nella buona uia, nella uia di coloro che tu hai eletti, e | nō di quelli, co quali tu sei adirato, e che sono infedeli. |

G1*r*–Q1*v*: Italian Translation of the Latin Translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, Chapters I–XXVIII.

O1*r*, pagination: 5ε instead of 53

Q1*v*: IL FINE DEL SECONDO LIBRO | ripieno di falsa Religione, e bestemmie contro il figliuol di Dio, e'l | Spirito Santo, d'inviolabile osseruanza appresso Macomettani. |

Q2r: IL TERZO LIBRO | DELL'ALCORANO | NEL QVALE MEDESIMAMENTE | SI CONTIENE LA LEGGE | DI MACOMETTO. |

Q2*r*–2B4*v*: Italian translation of the Latin translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, Chapters I–XCVI.

2B4*v*: Et auenga che nel testo Arabo ci siano anchora alcuni pochi versi, co= | me ornamento del fine dell'opera, non dimeno non essendo di so= | stanza, ne appresso il latino interprete, li habbiamo volu | lasciare, faccendo fine ad honore di GIESV | CHRISTO, et a confusione di Macometto | Propheta di spirito Diabolico, e Nun= | tio di Antichristo maladetto. |

Exemplars:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G. Oriente.IV.475. [the exemplar lacks folio a1]. Marginal notes in Arabic inscribed by a non-Arabic-speaking person who uses *taškīl*, D3r: *min faṭima* (sic) *faṭimiyūn*, *ḥālifa* (sic). D3v: *al-kūfa*. D4r: *faṭīma* (sic). E2r: *abuğad*, which transliterates an Italian *Abuget* from Arabic *abğad* (alphabet).

SECOND STATE

The first preliminary quire was removed (the *cancellandum*) and it was replaced with a new one of five leaves (the *cancellans*).

L'ALCORANO | DI MACOMETTO, | NEL QVAL SI CONTIE | NE LA DOTTRINA, | LA VITA, I CO= | STVMI, ET LE | LEGGI SVE. | Tradotto nuouamente dall'Arabo | in lingua Italiana. Con Gratie, e Priuilegii. // M D XLVII. |

[5], xxxviii, 100

πA4 πB1 a-i4 k2 A-2B4

ϖA2r: ALLO ILLVSTRISS. SIGNOR | GABRIEL DE LVUOES S. D'ARAMON, CON | SEGLIERE DELLA MAESTA CHRI= | STIANISS. ET AMBASCIATORE | APPRESSO IL SIGNOR TVRCO. |

πB1*v*: Di V. Illustriss. Sig. | Minimo seruitore Andrea
Arrivabene. |

πB1*v*: Sonnet (Paolo Crivelli):
Com'il gran Re del ciel Gabriello elesse |

A1*r-v*: ALLI PII LETTORI |

Exemplars:

•Athens, Gennadius Library, B/T 2398.

•Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 221/BE 8611 A354. Title page: ownership inscription *Martinus Plaichshirn.* And also: *Martinus Helman* (?) *Bonnensis.*

•Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Cinq.DD.165.

•Boston, Houghton Library (Harvard), OL 24306.1*. On the back of the front cover: *bequest of James Walker* [. . .], *1814.*

•Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, 297.2L M71.

•Dresden, Landesbibliothek -Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Hist.Turc.501.

•Exeter, the Cathedral Library, C79. Title page: ownership inscription *Tho Hoby. Thomas Hoby. Tendis in ardua virtus. 1553.* Second front free endpaper, on the recto: *1553. Questo è un libro non men* | *mendoso che ridiculoso cioè* | *L'osservanza de Turchi et* | *L'abominanda religione* | *di Macometto. Thomas Hoby.* Marginal notes, *passim.* 2B4v: *Questo libro fu di Guglielmo Thomaso.* Second back free endpaper, on the recto (Thomas Hoby's hand): *Fine di questo maledetto et* | *impio libro che contiene* | *la fede del Diavolo* | *et suo ministro* | *Macometto,* | *figliuolo* | *d'iniquità.*

•Cologne, Universitäts-und Stadtbibliothek, WFI132.

•London, British Library, 483.b.28.(1.). On the title page, under the date: 1598, erased. Bound with the *Alcorano riprovato* by Angelo Pientini, Firenze, 1603, 483.b.28.(2.).

•London, British Library, G.19605.

•London, British Library, 225.d.28.

•Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 A.or. 426. Title page: *[Fano].*

•New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library (Yale), Fod28 1547.

•Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 13299 2e ex. Title page: ownership inscription *Oratorii Parisiensis Catalogo inscriptus.*

•Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, *I.XII.55. 2B4.

•San Marino (CA), Huntington Library, RB 378571.

•Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Universitaire, C.107.322.

•Washington, Library of Congress, BP118.M6.

THIRD STATE

Like the second state, but with the addition of three quires at the end of the introduction (l-n4).

[5], l, 100

πA4 πB1 a-i4 k2 l-n4 A-2B4

l1*r*: IN CHE È FONDATA LA | legge Mahomettana. Cap. I. |

l1*r*: De comandamenti della legge de | Turchi. Cap. II. |

l1*v*: La espositione del primo comandamento, | che è dello amare Iddio. Cap. III. |

l1*v*: La espositione del secondo comandamen= | to, dello ubidire al padre, & alla ma= | dre. Cap. IIII. |

l2*r*: La espositione del terzo comandamento, | del non fare altrui quello, che a noi non | vorremmo, che fusse fatto. Cap. V. |

l2*v*: La espositione del quarto comandamento, | dello andare à i Tempij. Cap. VI. |

l3*r*: Come i Turchi fanno oratione nelle loro me= | schit, cio è Tempij. Cap. VII. |

l3*r*: Di quegli, à quali non è lecito andare alle | meschit. Cap. VIII. |

l3*v*: La espositione del quinto comandamento, | del digiuno. Cap. IX. |

l4*r*: La espositione del sesto comandamento, | del sacrificio. Cap. X. |

l4*v*: Della elemosina. Cap. XI. |

m1*r*: La espositione del settimo comandamento, | che è del matrimonio. Cap. XII. |

m1v: Del Matrimonio, che usano al presente in | Turchia. Cap. XIII. |

m2*r*: De' giuochi, che fanno quando la sposa esce | della stufa. Cap. XIIII. |

m2*v*: Come ua la sposa à casa del marito. Cap. XV. |

m3*r*: La espositione de dell'octavo, et ultimo | comandamento. Cap. XVI. |

m3*v*: QVESTI SONO I COMAN= | damenti della Turchesca legge. | Seguitano gli altri peccati. |

m3*v*: Del peccato della Superbia. Cap. XVII. |

m3*v*: Del peccato della Auaritia. Cap. XVIII. |

m4*r*: Del uitio della Lussuria. Cap. XIX. |

n1*r*: Del peccato della Ira. Cap. XX. |

n1*r*: Del peccato della Gola. Cap. XXI. |

n1*v*: Del peccato della Inuidia. Cap. XXII. |

n2*r*: Del peccato della Accidia. Cap. XXIII. |

n2*v*: INCOMINCIA LA PRO= | phetia in Lingua Turchesca. |

Patissahomoz, ghelur, Csiaferun memleketialur | keuzul almai alur, kapzeiler, iedi Yladegh Giaur | keleci csikmasse, on iki yladegh onlarum beghlighe | der: cufi iapar, baghi diker, bahesai baghlar, ogli | kezi olur, on iki yldenssora Christiano keleci esi= | kar, ol Turki gheressine tuskure. |

Seguita la interpretatione quanto al senso. |

n3*r*: Seguita il Comentario. |

Exemplars:

- Aix-en Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. O. 54. Title page, on the back: *Ex Bibliotheca D. Crozatia Suprema Parinsiensi Curia Presidis.* [library of Joseph-Antoine Crozat 1699–1750]. Also owned by Jean-Baptiste Marie de Piquet, marquis de Méjanes 1729–1786.
- Augsburg, Staats-und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Jud 60.
- Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, 02/IV.25.4.65.
- Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale d'étude et de conservation, Coll. 201591. Title page: *n° 103 catal. inscript.* Ownership inscription *Simon chirurg.*
- Brusells, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, VH 2.482.
- Chicago, the University of Chicago Library, BP118.A7.
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp.Cappon.IV.766. Title page and 2B4v: ownership inscription by Jean Ballesdens (d. 1675).

•Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 28.270. Title page: ownership inscription *Di Giac.(om)o Castelvetro.*

•Draguignan, Médiathèque communautaire de Draguignan et de la Dracénie, A 0092. Title page: ownership inscription *Defay Devillierr* [de Fay de Villiers ?].

•Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland, CC.3/1.5.

•Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palat. A.12.3.19.

•Gloucester, the Cathedral Library, SEL 3.30 [John Selden 1584–1654].

•Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 H E ECCL 128/53 (2).

•London, the British Library, C.107.b.18. Marginal notes, by three different hands.

•London, the Wellcome Library, 3579/B.

•London, Middle Temple Library, L (Ashley). [Robert Ashley 1565–1641] Title page: *De Thomaeo Palmer* [. . .] *A Paris* [. . .]. And also *Di Guglielmo Palmer Addio ed io.*

•Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, E.V.d.35.

•Manchester, the John Rylands University Library, Deansgate /18108. Title page: *R.*

•Milan, Archivio storico civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. H 2357.

•Nanterre, Bibliothèque André-Desguine, B. 341. Back of the front cover: ownership inscription *Iean Baptis(te). Peyer Imhoff Seigneur de Fontenelle.* Title page: ownership note *ex biblioth(eca) d(omini) praesidis de Montesquieu Cat. inscr(iptus*)».

•Oxford, Saint John's College Library, HB4/3.a.1.21. Title page: *Liber Henrici Pricej ex dono Thomae Horneri.* Title page, on the back: "da licentia del R(everendo) padre Inquisitore in Vinetia si ritiene questo." ϖA2r: *Liber Collegij S(an)cti Joannis Baptistae Oxon(iensis), ex legato Henrici Price sacrae Teologia Bacchalaurei, et hujus Collegij qui obijt 2° Februarij. Anno D(omi)ni 1600.* C. a1r: *Remmber* [sic] *not thy self in the multitud* [sic] *of the wickede but remember that vengeance will not strike per me Thomam Bedolum farewell* [Thomas Bedel, XVI sec.]

•Oxford, Bodleian Library, 40 A 41 Art.Seld [John Selden].

•Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, 500.ROSSA.SUP. COL.33.2. Bound with manuscript works: *Preghiere publiche de' Turchi* [first half of eighteenth century, translated by the Giovani di Lingua]; *Succinta et breve narratione dell'Imperio et stato della casa Ottomana* di Francesco Marcaldi [Venice, 1588].

•1Gr: in the margin, *Sorata 1 Meccana.* Then in Arabic alphabet *al-fātiḥa* and *Proemio.* Again: *Sor. 2 Meccana* and in Arabic alphabet *al-baqara* and *Vacca.* Possible inscription by Ludovico Marracci.

•Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 13299.

•Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 4-O2G-119. πA2r: ownership inscription *Min(orum) Recollectorum Conventus Parisiensis.*

•Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RES 4-O2G-119.

•Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, FB-27354. From the online catalog: *Signature aut. de Alfieri.*

•Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4 BB 258. Title page: ownership inscription *Ant(oine) de Laval*, secondo ex-libris *J(ean-Emmanuel) de Rieux mar(quis) d'Assérac.* Back of the front cover: *Ajetté à Moulins le 14 juin* [o janv(ier)] *1641. Ex Biliotheca. S. Genofevae Parisiensis Prohibitur.*

•Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, D'Ancona, 16.7.10. Title page: note of the donation from Alessandro D'Ancona to the University Library and ownership inscription (non readable). Back of the front cover: ownership inscription *Ex libris Jacobj Manzoni.*

•Rome, Biblioteca universitaria Alessandrina, I.c.40.

•Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, H.6.20.

•Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, IV.45.G.19.

•Trieste, Biblioteca civica A. Hortis. Back of the front cover: ownership inscription *Joan. Bapt. Preschern SS. Th. & J. V. D. praepositi Labacen.*

•Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, D 086D 095.
•Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 31.F.12.
•Zagrebu, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, RIIF-8o-305.

The following exemplars lack the paratext and the introduction (part of the introduction in the second case). Thus, it is not possible to describe them as exemplars of the second or third state.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, U/4793 Title page: ownership inscription *Bibliotheca Colbertina*.

Paris, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Langues Orientales (BIULO-BULAC), RES-8–1406. It lacks folios 1k, 2k and perhaps l-n4.

PREFACE

1. Moretti, "Ricordi ed affetti"; Pirazzini, *Giacomo Manzoni*; Tortorelli, *Biblioteche nobiliari*.

2. Formica, *Lo specchio turco*. See Trivellato, "Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean".

3. Tommasino, "Approfondimenti sull'arabo"; Tommasino, "Eteroglossia e propaganda religiosa"; Tommasino, "L'italiano odeporico europeo"; Bruni, *Una lingua senza impero*; Bruni, *L'italiano fuori d'Italia*.

4. Bobzin, *Der Koran*; Piemontese, "Il corano latino"; Cremona, "L'italiano in Tunisi"; Bruni, "Lingua d'oltremare"; Varvaro, "The Maghreb Papers"; Banfi, *Lingue d'Italia fuori d'Italia*.

5. Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 305, n. 71.

6. See the introduction by Paolo Procaccioli in Marini and Procaccioli, *Girolamo Ruscelli*, 7–9.

7. Formica, *Lo Specchio Turco*, 55.

8. Quondam, *Forma del vivere*, 65.

CHAPTER 1

1. Formisano, "La più antica (?) traduzione"; Formisano, *Iddio ci dia buon viaggio*, 31–36 and 267–300, reviewed by Baglioni in *Carte di viaggio* 1 (2008), 137–40; Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*; Tommasino, "Testimonianze sulla traduzione del Corano".

2. *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*; Moser, *Theodor Bibliander*, 111–60; Hamilton, *The Forbidden Fruit*.

3. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, 55; Delatour, *Les livres de Claude Dupuy*; Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*.

4. *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii*.

5. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, 57–59 and 60; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*; Vrolijk and Ommen, *"All My Books in Foreign Tongues."*

6. Burnett, "Ketton, Robert of".

7. Piemontese, "Lo studio delle cinque lingue"; Balagna Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme*, 98; Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism".

8. Wakefield, *On the Three Languages*, 59 and 87; Wegg, *Richard Pace*; Crusius, *Germano Graeciae libri sex*, 6; Ruscelli, *De' secreti del reverendo*, 3–4; Iacono, *Bibliografia di Girolamo Ruscelli*, and see esp. the appendix by A. Gregori, "Saggio di censimento delle edizioni dei Secreti,"in Iacono, *Bibliografia di Girolamo Ruscelli*; Díaz Tanco, *Libro intitulado Palinodía*, [2]*r* (cited according to the anastatic reprint, 1947).

9. De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana*; De Frede, *Cristianità e Islam*. See also Nallino, "Una cinquecentesca edizione," 1–12.

10. Piccolomini, *De la institutione*, 39*r–v*; *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, 2: 117, 131; *Lettere di diversi autori*, 2*r*.

11. Busi, "Chi non ammirerà"; Perani and Corazzol, *Flavio Mitridate mediatore*.

12. *El Corán de Toledo*, 26; Tommasino, "The Qur'an in Early Modern Iberia," edition and introduction to the monographic section of *Al-Qantara*.

13. Selden, *Ioannis Seldeni de successionibus*, 8–9; Selden, *Ioannis Seldeni de iure naturali*,

586; Toomer, *John Selden*, 2: 618, indicates only the copy of the *Alcorano* in the Bodleian Library (A 41 Art. Seld). A second exemplar that seems to have been in his possession is now in the Gloucester Cathedral Library (SEL 3.30). Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning*, 64–71, esp. 64–65; Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, 46; Scaliger, *Illustriss. viri Iosephi Scaligeri*, 646.

14. On Du Ryer, see Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*. Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*; *De Arabische Alkoran*. On the Hebrew and Spanish translation of the *Alcorano di Macometto*, see Den Boer and Tommasino, "Reading the Qur'an". Hoornbeek, *Summa controversiarum religionis*, 86.

15. Braudel, "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," esp. 2217; Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*.

16. Florence, BNCF, Magl. XXXIV, 31; Rimini, BCG, Fondo Gambetti, 495. See Tommasino, "Lire et traduire le Coran."

17. Verucci, *Li diversi linguaggi comedia*, 5*v*–6*r*; Giovanardi, "Roma e le sue lingue," esp. 205–7; Broggio, "L'Urbs e il mondo"; Tommasino, "Il 'dialetto romano.'"

18. Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus*, 13. On Marracci, see Glei and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*; D'Errico, *Il Corano e il pontefice*. On seventeenth-century translation of the Qur'an, see Tommasino, "Nota Bibliográfica," which reviews *La traducción latina del Corán atribuida al Patriarca de Constantinopla Cirilo Lúkaris (1572–1638)*, edited by Ó. de la Cruz Palma, and *Interpretatio Alcorani Litteralis* by G. de Slesia. The Qur'an of Ignazio Lomellini is now preserved in Genoa, BU, A. IV.4; O'Neill and Domínguez, *Diccionario histórico* 3: 2926.

19. Florence, BNCF, ms. Magl. VIII, 572, 28*v*, 35*r*, 36*r*, 37*r*, 39*r*, 68*r*, 98*r*, 99*r*–*v*.

20. Calza, *Il Corano*; Piergentili, "I consolati pontifici"; Biberstein Kazimirski, *Le Koran*; *Il Corano: Nuova traduzione italiana dall'arabo. . . .*, which I found in Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, A.V. c. 1; Savary, *Le Coran*; Branca, "Le traduzioni italiane del Corano," esp. 119; Branca, "Italian Translations of the Qur'an"; Serpentini, "Fabiani, Cesare (César)."

21. Papini, "Il demone mussulmano," in *Testimonianze e polemiche religiose*, 63–64.

22. See Fracassi, *Il Corano*, vii–viii and x–xi; and the following translations: *Il Corano: Nuova versione letteraria*; Alessandro Bausani, ed., *Il Corano*. Preceding Fracassi is another translation based on the French text by Biberstein Kazimirski: *Il Corano, versione tolta direttamente*. On the ideological climate of the translation, see in particular Malvezzi, *L'Italia e l'Islam*.

23. *Al-Coranus S. Lex Islamitica*; Mantzel, *Spicilegium historico-philologicum*, 11*v*.

24. Ludwig, *Dissertatio historico-philologico-theologica* [1703], 22–23; Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino*, 113.

25. Lobherz, *Dissertatio historico-philologico-theologica* [1704], 21–25.

26. Sale, *The Koran*, v–vi; Ross, "Ludovico Marracci."

27. Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse historique* 1: 147; Vogt, *Catalogus historico-criticus*, 20; Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, the chapter "Libri publica authoritate suppressi," 2: 256–58 esp. 257; Freytag, *Analecta literaria*, 17, cited in De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana*, 38, n. 15; Doni, *I marmi di Antonfrancesco Doni*, 1: 217.

28. De Rossi, *De Corano arabico*, 14. De Frede does not rule out the hypothesis of De Rossi; see De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana*, 38.

29. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, 425–26.

30. De Sacy, "Notice d'un Manuscrit Arabe," esp. 103–9; Pouillon, "Silvestre de Sacy."

31. Mortillaro, "Lettera II"; Cantù, *Grande illustrazione del Lombardo-Veneto*, 126.

32. Nallino, "Le fonti arabe"; Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*; Blachère; Alverny, "Deux traductions"; Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam*, 9–10.

33. Malvezzi, *L'islamismo*, 210; Branca, "Le traduzioni italiane del Corano," esp. 117–18; Branca, "Dire e non dire," esp. 56; Formica, *Lo specchio turco*, 52.

34. *Sermoni devotissimi del beato Efrem*; Lando, *Commentario de le più notabili*; Ricci, *Ossessione turca*, 69; Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo*, 21.

35. Burke and Po-Chia Hsia, *La traducción cultural*; Cherchi, *Polimatia di riuso*; Quondam,

"Note su imitazione"; Quondam, "Nell'officina del Classicismo"

36. Grevin, "Le 'Coran de Mithridate,'" esp. 514; Glei, *Frühe Koranübersetzungen*.

CHAPTER 2

1. Garzoni, *La piazza universale*, 288. A modern edition is edited by Bronzini with De Meo and Carcereri.

2. Lando, *La sferza de' scrittori*. Three Venetian editions of Nettesheim's *Della vanità delle scienze* (1547, 1549, 1552) are known to exist. The first of these has Giovanni Farri's printer's mark, while the second has that of Anton Francesco Doni. The third edition has no typographical notes. See also Grendler, *L'Inquisizione romana*, 152; Perini, *La vita e i tempi*; Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, 196–216; Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino*, 10–11; Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, 60, 194, 272; Saccocci, "Arrivabene, Andrea"; Saccocci, "Andrea Arrivabene editore-libraio"; Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del '500*, 338–39 and 367; Tentori, "Arrivabene, Giorgio"; Norton, *Italian Printers, 1501–1520*, 128–29.

3. Coppens, *De vele levens*; Fortunio, *Regola grammaticale della volgar lingua* . . . [1518]; Fortunio, *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* [2001], lxii; *Libro terzo de le rime* . . . , 2*r*, dedicated "Al molto Magnifico et Ill. Signore, il Signor Luca Grimaldo."

4. On the translation of Luther, see Seidel Menchi, "Le traduzioni italiane di Lutero"; Venice, BNM, mss. It., cl. VII (2500–2), sub data. These mss. collect the "Privilegi veneziani per la stampa concessi dal 1527 al 1597," copied by Horatio Brown. Vergerio, *Il catalogo de' libri* . . . [1549], 5*v*, quoted in Cavazza, "Libri in volgare," esp. 20, and in 2010 published in Vergerio, *Il catalogo de' libri (1549)* [2012].

5. Domenichi, *Rime*; Garavelli, *Lodovico Domenichi*, 30; Garavelli, "Lodovico Domenichi nicodemita?"; on Betussi, see Nadin Bassani, *Il poligrafo veneto*; Ruscelli, *Lettere*; Ruscelli, *Dediche e avvisi ai lettori*; Telve, *Ruscelli grammatico e polemista*; Iacono, *Bibliografia di Girolamo Ruscelli*, esp. the appendix to Gregori's "Saggio di bibliografia delle edizioni dei 'Secreti'"; on the relationship between Betussi, Ruscelli, the "literato" from Bassano, and Belluno, see Bianco, "Lattanzio Persicini", and Spada, "Due petrarchisti bellunesi," esp. 87–88.

6. Lando, *Dialogo di M. Hortensio Lando*, 3*v*; on the *Paradossi*, see Fahy, "Le edizioni veneziane."

7. Nadin Bassani, *Il poligrafo veneto*, 41–43; Brunetto, *Lettere di messer Horatio Brunetto*, 15*r*; Cyrus, *Della providenza di Dio*, 2*v*–3*r*.

8. Arrivabene, *I grandi apparati*; Del Col, "Il Nuovo Testamento."

9. Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, 200; De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana*, 65.

10. *Le vite, i costumi*, dedicated "Al Magnifico Messer Nicolao Cornaro del Carissimo messer Marco Antonio Andrea Arivabene S(ervitore)," 2*r*–*v*. The Italian Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN) online catalog indicates the author of the vulgarization as Alessandro Arrivabene, probably due to an incorrect interpretation of the "A. Arrivabene" appearing on the frontispiece dated 1543. On the publisher Tramezino, see Tallini, "Tradizione familiare"; see also Tallini, "Giovanni Tarcagnota"; for a general context, see Grafton, *What Was History?*

11. *Libro terzo de le rime*, 2*r*–5*v*, dedicated "Al molto Magnifico et Illustre Signore, il Signor Luca Grimaldo"; Ruscelli, *Il sesto libro delle rime*, 2*r*–4*v*, dedicated "Al molto Reverendo, et onoratissimo Signore, il Signor Girolamo Artusio, Preposto di Concordia, et Canonico di Feltre"; Basadonna, *Oratione del Magnifico Messer Piero Basadonna*, 2*v*–4*r*, dedicated "All'illustrissimo e molto Reverendo Signore, Monsignor Pietro Quirino Vescovo di Concordia"; Piccolomini, *L'amor costante*, 1*v*–2*r*, dedicated "Al molto honorato et magnifico Messer Giovanni Soranzo del Clarissimo Messer Alvise"; Braida, *Libri di lettere*, 24.

12. Simonetta, *Historie di Giovanni Simonetta*; Mocenigo, *Andreae Mocenici p.v.d. Bellum Cameracense*; Mocenigo, *Le guerre fatte a nostri tempi in Italia*; quoted in Mocenigo, *La guerra di Cambrai*, 1*v*–2*v*.

13. *Alcorano*, [1]*r*–[5]*v*.

14. Ibid., [1]*r*–[5]*v*.

15. Cieza de León, *La prima parte dell'istorie*, 2*r*–2*v*; Horodowich, "Editors and Armchair Travelers." An updated picture of the linguistic and cultural relations between Spain and Italy is in Lefèvre, *Il potere della parola*.

16. Patrizi, *Della historia diece dialoghi*, 2*r*.

17. Ibid., 2*r*.

18. Fahy, "Le edizioni veneziane,"esp. 187 and 194.

19. F. Barberi, *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano*, 1: 131–32; Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, 1: 247 and 2: plates A-9, A-15, A-16, A-28, A-31; Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici*, 106. For a new analysis of *Alcorano*'s title page, see Saviello, *Imaginationen des Islam*, 65–80.

20. Del Col, "Il controllo della stampa," esp. 496, n. 22. For information on Piero Galese, see Arbel, *Trading Nations*, 143–44.

21. A. Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino*, 119; Nuovo, "Paratesto e pubblicità del privilegio," esp. 25; Piemontese, "Venezia e la diffusione," esp. 644; Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia," esp. 133–34, 178, 211; Barbieri, "La tipografia araba a Venezia," esp. 128 and 129; Venice, BNM, ms. It. cl. VII (2500–2), sub data, "Privilegi veneziani per la stampa concessi dal 1527 al 1597," copied by Horatio Brown, 172; Rozzo and Seidel Menchi, "Livre et Réforme," esp. 329; Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 120, who refers to the privilege granted to Piero Galese, in Venice, ASV, 35, January 23, 1548, 106*v*.

22. Bobzin and Hollander, *Early Printed Korans*, 3. This catalog refers to G. Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine*, 39, n. 3. Vercillin's book includes historical entries that offer further information to the catalog of the 2000 exhibition *Le civiltà del Libro e la stampa a Venezia*, edited by Pelusi. Vercellin's description corrected that offered twenty-five years earlier in *Studi arabistici e arte tipografica araba*, 41, 17; Branca, "Le traduzioni italiane," 116; Binark and Eren, *World Bibliography*, 985, 1, 267. Paolo Branca and the *World Bibliography* provide a description of an exemplar with thirty-eight preliminary leaves, while Giorgio Vercellin describes the exemplar in Venice (BNM) with fifty preliminary leaves.

23. Moretti, "Profezie scritte e figurate"; Moretti, "Immagini del Turco."

24. Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*. The 2003 edition of the text is accompanied by a second volume with the anastatic reprint of a Venetian copy from 1543, found in the Biblioteca de Barcarrota (Badajoz). Fahy, "Le edizioni veneziane," 187; Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae*, n.p.; Bassano, *I costumi*; Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 117, n. 56; Georgijevič, *De Turcarum ritu*; Giustinian, *Historia di m. Bernardo Giustiniano*.

25. See the introductory essays in Harris, *Gli incunaboli*, v. 2, esp. 69–75; Harris, "Il 'cancellans.'"

26. In 2016 Maria Teresa Chicote Pompanin proposed as her own hypothesis the possible collaboration in the printing of the *Alcorano di Macometto* between Andrea Arrivabene and Bernardino Bindoni and other printers. I advanced this hypothesis in the Italian version of this book (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), building on Fahy's research on Lando's *Paradossi* and on the analysis of the first *state* of the edition of the *Alcorano* and on other typographical materials. See Chicote Pompanin, "L'Alcorano of Andrea Arrivabene." Blissett, *Q*.

27. Bibliander, "Apologia pro editione Alcorani," in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 11*r*.

28. *Delle rime di diversi nobili*, 94*r*.

29. Georgijevič, *Prophetia de maometani*; Menavino, *Trattato de costumi*. The two texts were printed in Venice in Menavino, *I cinque libri*.

CHAPTER 3

1. Brunetto, *Lettere*, 186*v*–187*v*; Del Col, "Note sull'eterodossia." Orazio Brunetto was closely tied to the group of Porcìa, which the miller Menocchio, a reader of the *Alcorano*, seemed to be in touch with through the painter Nicola da Porcìa. Del Col, "Eterodossia e

cultura."

2. Sozzini, *Opere*, 133; Benini Clementi, *Riforma religiosa*, 103–8; Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici*, 216–18.

3. Braida, *Libri di lettere*, 51; on Dolce, see Terpening, *Lodovico Dolce*; Ambrosini, *Storie di patrizi. Delle rime di diversi nobili*, 94r; Montesa's letter in Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1313, 191–92, 345*r*–346*v*; Bunes, "Carlos V."

4. Firpo, "Review of *La Réforme*," esp. 366; Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, 39, n. 3; De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana*, 36; De Frede, *Cristianità e Islam*, 68; Malvezzi, *L'islamismo e la cultura europea*, 210.

5. Vitali, "A proposito della battaglia."

6. Jensen, "The Ottoman Turks," esp. 454; Stella, "Utopie e velleità," esp. 140 and 159; Stella, "Guido da Fano," esp. 225–26; Stella, "L'orazione," esp. 20; Rozzo, "La lettera al doge"; Grendler, *L'Inquisizione romana*, 65; Jacobson Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio*, 346. The words of the Habsburg ambassador are quoted from Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1318, 119, 1*v*.

7. The conditions of the League are quoted from Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1318, 119, 1*v*; *Nuntiatur des Verallo*, 308–9; Stella, *Dall'Anabattismo*, 63–64; Stella, "Utopie e velleità," 158; Charrière, *Négociations de la France*, 1: 625; see also Garavelli, *Lodovico Domenichi*, 30; Baguenault de Puchesse, *Jean de Morvillier*, 29; Potter, "Foreign Policy."

8. Paviot, "Autour de l'ambassade," 385; Tinguely, *L'écriture du Levant*, 17, 21, and 52–53; Glotzbach, "Die Wahrnehmung der Türcken"; Potter, *Henry VIII and Francis I.*

9. *Alcorano*, [3]*r*, [5]*r*–*v*; Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 324; on Jerusalem, see Regnaut, *Discours du voyage*, 67; Belon, *Les observations*, 151–52; Tinguely, *L'écriture du Levant*, 20; Yérasimos, "Les relations franco-ottomanes"; Paoli, "Ad Ercole Musagete," esp. 156; Terzoli, foreword in Terzoli, *I margini del libro*, vii.

10. Bacqué Grammont et al., *Représentants permanents*, 5–8; Amat, "Aramon (Gabriel de Luels, seigneur de)"; Chesneau, *Le Voyage*; Rivoire de La Bâtie, *Armorial du Dauphiné*, 367; *Alcorano*, [2]*v*.

11. Brunetto, *Lettere*, 188*r*.

12. Guazzo, *Cronica di M. Marco Guazzo*, 406*r*; Giovio, *La seconda parte dell'Istorie*; *Lettere di principi*, 169*r*–175*v*.

13. *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, 2: 451, 10–21, 440; G. Castellani, "Da Bartolomeo Zanetti"; Zeller, *La diplomatie française*, 301–2.

14. On the *affaire* Pellicier: Preto, *I servizi segreti*, 75–76, 110–11; Bély and Poumarède, *L'incident diplomatique*. Also accused was Gian Matteo Giberti; see Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, 310. Aretino, *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino* 2: 418, 9–20, 417 and 285, 1–5, 313; Venice, BNM, ms. It., cl. VII, 785 (7292), 110–17. 112*v*–113*r*; Terzaghi, "Ritratto dell'ambasciatore."

15. Adriani, *Istoria de' suoi tempi*, 143; Raffa, "L'ultima impresa"; Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*; Mafrici, "Carlo V"; Poumarède, "Justifier l'injustifiable."

16. Maurand, *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand*, 262; *Alcorano*, [2]*v*–[3]*r*; Aretino, *Lettere I–VI*, 5: 352, 1–6, 275–76.

17. Rivoire, "Eresia e riforma a Brescia," 59–90, esp. 43; Church, *I riformatori italiani*, 139–45.

18. Reynaud, *Jean de Monluc*; Lestocquoy, *Correspondance de Nonce*, 221; Aretino, *Lettere I–VI*, 3: 666, 1–8, 496, 677, 1–4, 502; Tallon, "Le 'parti français,'" esp. 384; Venice, ASV, Senato Secreta, Archivi Propri, Costantinopoli, b. 4, 93*v*; Charrière, *Négociations*, 621; on ceasefires and capitulations, see Pedani Fabris, *La dimora della pace*; Ochoa Brun, *La diplomacia de Carlos V*, 459.

19. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmo in Italia*, 259 and 267.

20. On Lorenzino, see Dall'Aglio, *L'assassino del Duca*. Enzinas, *Epistolario*, 368; *Lettere d'uomini illustri*, 122 and 169; Torda, who was very close to Philip Melanchthon and a preceptor in Padua in 1546, expressed his opinion on Francesco Spiera's case; Prosperi, *L'eresia*

del Libro Grande, 413;

21. *Alcorano*, 1st state, Vatican City, BAV, R. G. Oriente.IV.475, 3*r*–*v*.

22. *Alcorano*, 3*v*–4*r*; Charrière, *Negociations*, 1: 611; Del Col, "Il Nuovo Testamento," 664–66, for the use of the word *fondamento* (referring to Christ) in Brucioli and Massimo Teofilo. Arrivabene's edition of the Decree on Justification is *Decretum de iustificatione*.

23. Rosello, *Discorso di penitenza*, 20*r*; *Alcorano*, [4]*v*; Murphy, *Ruling Peacefully*; Rebecchini, "Libri e letture eterodosse"; Richardson, "An Editor of Vernacular Texts"; Kennedy Rey, "Lucio Paolo Rosello's Dialogue"; Seidel Menchi, *Erasmo in Italia*, 267; De Frede, *La prima traduzione*, 67; *Alcorano*, [4]*v*.

24. Venice, ASV, Senato Secreta, Archivi Propri, Costantinopoli, b. 4, 14*r*–16*r*, 93*v*, 99*v*; Džaja and Weiss, *Austro-Turcica*, 114.

25. Pietro Gelido's words in Florence, ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4592, 451*r*; Aretino, *Lettere I–VI*, 4: 470, 290. On Vincenzo Maggi, see *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, 2: 96, 1–9, 108; von Hohenheim, *Peritissimi et eruditissimi*, 145–46. Grossi, *Un esule italiano*, described by Caponetto, "Un trend di ricerche," esp. 237; Selmi, "Maggi Vincenzo," esp. 366; Fahy, "Un trattato di Vincenzo Maggi"; Seidel Menchi, "Sulla fortuna di Erasmo," esp. 614–15.

26. *Alcorano*, [1]*r*.

27. Ibid., [2]*v*.

28. Venice, ASV, Senato Secreta, Deliberazioni, Secreta, b. 65, 1546–47, 91*r*–91*v*, 94*r*–95*v*; Iannettone, *Politica e diritto*, esp. the chapter "D'Aramon ambasciatore francese e gli inviati speciali De Fumel e d'Huyson," 146–55; Charrière, *Négociations*, 641–42; Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1313, 191–92, 345*r*–346*v*.

29. Chesneau, *Le Voyage*, 2–5; on the acrobats, see Joukovsky, "Voyageurs français," esp. 492; Brunetto, *Lettere*, 186*v*–189*r*; Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana*, 377; Ricci, *Ossessione turca*, 22; Venice, ASV, Senato, Secreta, Archivi Propri, Costantinopoli, b. 4, 160*r*–163*r*; Džaja and Weiss, *Austro-Turcica*, 151; Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1313, 191–92, 345*r*–346*v*.

30. Venice, ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere di Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli, b. 1, 190–92; Džaja and Weiss, *Austro-Turcica*, 159; Paris, BNF, ms. Français 2958; *Correspondance diplomatique*, 204*r*; Gil, "El imperio español"; Ochoa Brun, *La diplomacia*, 459; Spuler, "La diplomatie européenne"; Sallmann, *Géopolitique du XVIe siècle*.

31. Chesneau, *Le Voyage*, 17; Venice, ASV, Senato Secreta, Archivi Propri, Costantinopoli, 4, 182*r*; *Correspondance diplomatique*, 109*r*.

32. Brunetto, *Lettere*, 188r. Tenenti, in *Cristoforo Da Canal*, 9, speaks of eighty-five people and quotes from Venice, ASV, Senato Mar, reg. 29, 65*r*–*v*; Yérasimos, "Les relations franco-ottomanes."

33. Zanchi, *Del modo di fortificar*, 62; Feldman, *Academy of Domenico Venier*.

34. According to Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori*, F. Fedeli is the author of *Storia della guerra tra Selim imperatore dei Turchi ed i Veneziani*; see Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana*, 285; Fedele Piccolomini, *Della nuova inventione*; Brunetto, *Lettere*, 186*v*–187*v*; Guazzo, *Historie di tutte le cose*, 329*r*. A Giacomo Guoro was captain of the galley during the Battle of Lepanto. Further research is required to accurately identify Giacomo Guoro.

35. Lando, *Commentario dele piu notabili*, 63. Glossed in the margin: "Cap. Orlando Porcello, comito inexpectando." The 1550 Arrivabene edition was quoted in Chapter 1, n. 34).

36. Paris, BNF, ms. Français 2958, *Correspondance Diplomatique*, 186*v*; Florence, ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4592, 285*r*; Džaja and Weiss, *Austro-Turcica*, 218 and 323–24 (letter written by d'Aramon to İbrahim Paşa, from Aleppo, December 8, 1548); see also the letter written by Aretino in April 1548 in which he speaks of Bartolomeo's services to the French Crown, in the Arrivabene edition of Aretino's letters, P. Aretino, *Il quarto libro delle lettere* (1550), 179*r*. Dall'Aglio, *L'assassino del Duca*, 139 and 313–14.

37. Valladolid, AGS, Legajo 1318, 134; Pedani Fabris, *In nome del Gran Signore*; Zele, "Aspetti delle legazioni ottomane"; Valensi, *Venezia e la Sublime Porta*; Kissling, "Venezia come centro"; Ricci, *I Turchi alle porte*, 156.

38. Charrière, *Négociations*, 787; Paris, BA, ms. 4536, 30; Romo Feito, "Ansiedad por Italia," esp. 76; Lehmann, "Briefe an Ulrich Függer," esp. 383. I disagree with the identification of Petrus Pomarus as Peter Paumgartner by Durkan, "Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance 'Bookman,'" esp. 13. Biegman, *Turco-Ragusan Relationship*; Bock, *Historia antitrinitariorum*, 2: 424.

39. Mornay, *De la verité de la religion Chrestienne*; Mornay, *Della verità della religione christiana*, 2*r–v*; Bettoni, "Le isole dell' 'Archipelago,'" esp. 150.

40. Perrot, *Aviso piacevole*; *Catechismo dottrinale*; Balsamo, "Dante, l' 'Aviso piacevole.'"

41. *Lettres et memoires d'Estat*, 14–15; Isom-Verhaaren, "Shifting Identities," esp. 131; Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel*, 76–81; Držič, *Tirena comedia*; Morabito, "Marino Darsa (Marin Držič)"; Nardone, *La représentation de Jérusalem*, 315–20.

42. Parma, *Le cagioni*, [after 1533], 3r. On Ferrante Sanseverino, see De Frede, *Cristianità e Islam*, 87–90. See Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent" (1989), esp. 411, n. 39, which quotes from Venice, BNM, ms. Ital., cl. VI (8398), 48*v*–55*r*. *Alcorano*, iv*r–v*.

43. Florence, ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 385, 91*r*, but here I quote from Dall'Aglio, *L'assassino del Duca*, 70;; *Alcorano*, iv*r–v*; Enzinas, *Epistolario*, 252.

44. De Frede, *Cristianità e Islam*, 68.

45. Rosenberg, *Gerhardt Veltwyck*; Servantie, "L'Image de l'Espagne," esp. 242–43. Veltwyck, *Shebiley Tohu*; Secret, "Guillaume Postel" [1975]; Hamilton, *Arab Culture*, 40.

46. Ruscelli, *Sopplimento di Girolamo Ruscelli*, 5.

47. Fragnito, *Cinquecento italiano*, 189; Nicolay, *Le navigationi e viaggi*; Bingen, "Les éditions d'œuvres en langue italienne"; Giovo, *Commentaire d'aucunes choses*; Göllner, *Turcica*, n. 827.

48. *Alcorano*, [3]*r*; Giovo, *La seconda parte dell'Istorie*, 6*r*.

CHAPTER 4

1. *Alcorano*, [1]*r* e [2]; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, n.p. [1*r*]; Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa*, 39–44, esp. 39: "It's not clear if he [Arrivabene] was the typographer, the printer, the author or someone else in the text." See also *Studi arabistici e arte tipografica araba*, 17. Piemontese also argues for "translated by Andrea Arrivabene" in "Venezia e la diffusione," 643.

2. *Le vite, i costumi* [1543]; *Le vite, i costumi* [1544], 2*r*. The online SBN catalog instead attributes the work to Alessandro Arrivabene, probably due to an incorrect reading of A. Arrivabene. C. A. Nallino, "Review of the Qur'an," 592: "Il Corano di Giovanni Arrivabene (Venezia, 1547)." This information is provided without comment in Branca, "Le traduzioni italiane del Corano," 118.

3. Mocenigo, *Andreae Mocenici*; Mocenigo, *Le guerre fatte*, 1*v*; Mocenigo, *La guerra di Cambrai*; Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana*, 290, n. 2.

4. Binark and Eren, *World Bibliography of Translations*, 267: "Andrea Arrivabene is pseudonym for Andrea Mocenigo" (I didn't see the 2000 edition, edited by M. Nejat Sefercioğlu and directed by E. İhsanoğlu); Newbigin, preface to A. Piccolomini, *L'amor costante*, vi; Library of Congress, *National Union Catalogue*, 22: 490 and 388: 473.

5. Argelati, *Biblioteca degli volgarizzatori*, 1: 42 and 43. The same attribution appears in Paitoni, *Biblioteca degli autori greci e latini volgarizzati*, 1: 45 and 46. For the relationship between Argelati and Paitoni, see Zicàri, "Argelati, Filippo," esp. 113; on Antonio Neyrot see Tommasino, "Testimonianze sulla traduzione del Corano."

6. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi*, 3, 51, 77–78, 142, 186; Fahy, "Per la vita di Ortensio Lando"; Seidel Menchi, "Spiritualismo radicale" and "Chi fu Ortensio Lando?" esp. 532–33.

7. Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae*, 52r–53*v* (*notatio* 37): "Infra piscis. De huius piscis epulo suaviter sibi blandiuntur Thalmutistae, Cabalistae mysterium magis reconditum hoc loco

enunciant. Aegidius Card. Viterbiensis per iocum saepe M. Zemeto praeceptori nostro dicere solebat: 'Christum post Resurrectionem suam, Apostolis hoc epulum exhibuisse.' Cui Zematus: 'Vides igitur—inquit—Messiam vestrum, discipulos suos convivii huius expectatione plenos omnino fallere noluisse.'" *Alcorano*, 22*v*–23*r*: "Della vivanda di questo pesce se ne danno gioco i talmudisti, ma li cabalisti come misterio recondito il manifestano, né voglio tacere quello che si dice che disse il Cardinale Aleandro a gioco a M. Zematto Rabi Arabo preso in Africa, e presentato a Clemente VII dal quale battezzato si sté a Roma tre anni, poi nel sacco si rifuggì e rifecessi Turco, come mi riferrì M. Pietro Aleandro mio Zio che allhora si ritrovava a Roma, il quale Zematto domandato dal Cardinale perché più piacque a Christo il pesce che altro cibo, rispose molte cose che il poco luogo non me le consente riferire, poi soggionse a burla: 'Vedi come il Messia non ha voluto ingannare li suoi discepoli dell'espettatione di questo convito.'" Berliner, *Storia degli ebrei di Roma*, 140; Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2: 92.

8. London, BL, C.107.b.18, 23*r*: "Aegidius Card. Vit, per iocum saepe M. Zemato."

9. Secret, "Guillame Postel et les études," esp. 24; Secret, *I Cabbalisti Cristiani*, 129, n. 88; Zemon Davis, *La doppia vita*, 328, n. 71, and *Trickster Travels*, 305, n. 71. Information about Pietro Aleandro, son of Luigi, can be found in Ferrari, "Profili bio-bibliografici," esp. 160.

10. Zemon Davis's confusion derives from a reading of Paquier, *L'Humanisme et la Réforme*, 10, n. 2, in which the two trees are considered to be identical. Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ottoboni 2419 (626*v*–628*r*); Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* 1: pt. 1, 425 and 431; Valla, *De vero falsoque bono*, xix–xx, n. 12.

11. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 193*v*; Vecce, *Iacopo Sannazzaro in Francia*, 14–23; Ruzza, *Dizionario biografico Vittoriese*, 15; Paschini, *Domenico Grimani*, 24–29, 81–84, and 97–99; Ciani, *Storia del popolo cadorino*, 2: 344–55.

12. Tomasi, *La Diocesi di Ceneda*, 1: 139–40 and 2: 147 (see also the profile of Aleandro Pietro Junior de Magistris); Da Rif, *Capitolo e canonici*. 116. For a brief portrait of Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, see Miari, *Dizionario storico-artistico-letterario*, 41.

13. Piloni, *Historia della città di Belluno* [2002]. The edition also reproduces the eighth and ninth books of the *Historia*, which remained manuscripts until published for the first time in the 1929 edition edited by Alpago Novello et al., 39*r*, 142*v*–143*v*, 180*v*, 517–18.

14. Leonico Tomeo, *Nicolai Leonici Thomaei*; Leonico Tomeo, *Li tre libri*; Russo, "Leonico Tomeo, Niccolò." A *canzone* in Italian by Leonico Tomeo is in the *Libro terzo de le rime*, 139*v*–141*v*.

15. Vittorio Veneto, AD, Archivio Vecchio, referato 6, rubrica 6, busta 2, fasc. 7, pos. 14 (busta 119), 1*v*–2*r*.

16. The family's nobility is discussed by Burlon, "Stemmi e notizie," esp. 187–88. Alberto is indicated as "popolare" in Vendramini, *Tensioni politiche nella società bellunese*, 171. On the village of Castel d'Ardo, see Perale, *Historia di Castel d'Ardo*.

17. Belluno, ASB, Notarile, buste 1709–13, Castrodardo Aleandro q. Alberto (1550/04/24–1568/05/01). Information on the other notaries of the family up to Castrodardo Giovanni Battista q. Alberto (1776/09/29–1807/08/24) can be found in the Archivio Notarile's indexes. I wish to thank Dina Vignaga for her information about the direct ancestors of Giovanni Battista. Da Rif, *Capitolo e Canonici*, 116; Belluno, ACCB, Atti Capitolari, Sezione A, Busta 5, Cartella 2; Belluno, AVB, sezione A, reparto 3 (Atti vescovili e curiali), busta 4, cartella 2, vescovo card. Gaspare Contarini, 1536–1542, 209*r*–209*v*; Casadei, "Lettere del cardinale Gasparo Contarini," esp. 248.

18. De Donà, *Serie dei decani del capitolo*. In a letter written by Pietro Bembo to the canons as early as August 1539 he indicated Giovanni Antonio Egregis as vice dean; *Clarissimorum virorum Gasparis cardinalis Contareni, Petri cardinalis Bembi, Pierii Valeriani, Aloysii Lollini episcopi epistolae nunc primum editae reverendissimo domino Henrico Gerardio* (Belluno: Deliberali, 1840), 20; now in Bembo, *Lettere* (1537–46), 4: 252.

19. Perale, "L'istituzione dell'arcipretura"; Comel, "Le pievi di Lentiai"; Belluno, ACCB, 14, Massaria capitolare, 1451–1572, 27*v*, 46*r*, 54*v*, 62*v*, 69*r*; Belluno, BL, ms. 58, 35*r*.

20. Leonico Tomeo, *Li tre libri* [16]*r–v*. *Le tre libri* was dedicated by Michele Tramezino to Zacaria Contarini, son of Paolo Contarini, 4*r*. On the Renaissance *varietas*, see Campana, "'Et per tal variar natura è bella'"; Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza corretto*, 28.

21. Venice, BNM, ms. It., cl. X, 73 (7097), 198*r*; Dooley, "L'unificazione del mercato editoriale."

22. Bordoni, *I più celebri ecclesiastici bellunesi*, 4–5, 11–12.

23. Ibid., 11–12.

24. Levi della Vida, "Alpago, Andrea"; Conte and Perale, "Giulio Doglioni, medico bellunese"; Lucchetta, "Cenni biografici," esp. 114; Venice, ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere di Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli, b. 1, 153*r*.

25. Belluno, ASB, Archivi antichi, serie notarile, notaio Bernardo Tison fu Niccolò, 6896–900, 6898, *Protocollum Tertium*, 413–14: *Procurae Instr[umentu]m R[everen]di D. jo. Baptistae Castrodardi antiquioris canonici K[athedra]li Belluni ad resignandum eius canonicati in favorem D. Brunori de Castrodardo clerici eius ex fratre nepotis. . . .*; Belluno, ACCB, 17, atti capitolari, 1558–85, f. 168*v*.

26. Rozzo and Gorian, *Il libro religioso*, 114; Comel, "Per un censimento," esp. 179. On the literary activity and cultural relations of Bishop Valier, see Spada, "Due petrarchisti bellunesi," 90, n. 11

27. Piloni, *Historia* [2002], 39*r*, 142*v*–143*v*; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 5: cols. 161–62: "ex Chronicis Castrodardi, aliisque"; Bertondelli, *Historia della città di Feltre*, 79–81: "adducendo Gio(vanni) Battista Castrodardo Canonico bellunese, che scrisse la morte di questo honoratissimo prelato"; Verci, *Storia della marca trivigiana*, 6: 197–208 and 223–27; Cambruzzi, *Storia di Feltre*; Montebello, *Notizie storiche*, 61–62. He is indicated as *erudito* in Schiavo, *Degli uomini celebri bellunesi*, 22, n. 22: "Oltre gli accennati fiorirono pure nel secolo XVI Giovanni Grino letterato, e Consigliere di Principi, Gio[vanni] Battista Castrodardo, Paolo Ponte, Gio[vanni] Battista Lazzari scrittori eruditi." This information, although largely drawn from Schiavo, does not seem to be accepted by Pagani, *Catalogo ragionato*.

28. Dresden, SLUB, F. 65a, 88–96; Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 373–74; Dresden, SLUB, F. 65a, 89*r*; Belluno, ASCB, ms. 539, 172*v*.

29. Dresden, SLUB, F. 65a, 89*r*. Burchelati, *Epitaphiorum dialogi septem*, serm. 1: 14; Passolunghi, *I Collalto*, 220; Toderi and Vannel, *Le medaglie italiane*, 2: 690, a medal featuring Giovanni Battista II di Collalto with the family coat of arms and the motto "post tenebras spero lucem" (Job 17: 12); Battistella, *I Conti di Collalto*, 37; Endrizzi, *L'Abbazia di Sant'Eustachio*, 27–28.

30. Belluno, ASCB, ms. 539, 131*r*; A. Castellani, *I più antichi testi italiani*, 209–10; Bertoletti, "Testi in volgare bellunese," esp. 4. The manuscript from which Barcelloni copied the *Ritmo* was from the hospital of San Marco di Vedana; Doglioni, *Avogari dei vescovi*, 36–37 and 43–44.

31. Belluno, AVB, sezione A, reparto 6/a, busta 37, cartella 1/1: *Super Institutione Benefitij Altaris maioris Cathedralis Ecclesiae Bellunensis Sti. Martini Intitulati iuris patronatus nob. Familia de Ponte in personam R. D. Jo. Bapta Castrodardi Canonici Bell*; At busta 37, cartella 1/2: passage of the benefice to Francesco Carrera, parish priest of Santa Maria di Castion in 1599–1605, a position he held from 1588 to 1611; Tomasi, *La Diocesi di Ceneda*, 1: 139–40 and 192–93; Belluno, ASB, serie notarile, Bernardo Tison, 6897, *Protocollum Secundum*, 59, 316–17, and 462; Vittorio Veneto, AD, Archivio Vecchio, referato 6, rubrica 16, busta 2, fasc. 10, pos. 10 (busta 98). Concerning the rectorship of Colle, see Burlon, "Stemmi e notizie," 186.

32. Belluno, AVB, Processi (vescovo Giulio Contarini), b. 6/3, f. 6, 4*v*–5*r*; Comel, "Una lettera da Cracovia," esp. 158; Comel, "Un inventario di libri."

33. Belluno, AVB, Processi (vescovo Giulio Contarini), b. 6/5, f. 2. Castrodardo took part in the process beside Bishop Vicar Niccolò Barzetto and the canons Jacopo Rudio and Jacopo Salce. Among the latter, I identify Jacopo Rudio with Jacopo or Giacomo Rudio (1529–90), slightly younger than Castrodardo, as the author of at least two published works of a religious nature, *Iacobii Rudii Bellunensis Abbatis Mosacensis Protonotarii et Comitis Apostolici Libri*

duo and *Liber in quo continetur certamen*.

34. Belluno, ASCB, Acta Valierana (1575.VIII.9–1581.III.8), notaio Bernardo Tisone, ms. 462, 43, 324–325; Tiezza, *Diocesi di Feltre e Belluno*, 216–18.

35. Barpo, *Del canonico politico*, 117–18

36. See n. 27.

37. *Alcorano*, 13*v*–14*r*.

CHAPTER 5

1. Leonico Tomeo, *Nicolai Leonici Thomaei*, 53*r*; Leonico Tomeo, *Li tre libri di Nicolo Leonico*, 21*v*.

2. *Alcorano*, 9*v*. The *De generatione Machumet* is titled *Liber de generatione Mahumet et nutritura eius* or *Liber generationis Mahumet nuncii Dei* in medieval Latin sources.

3. *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, pt. 1, n.p. [211].

4. *Alcorano*, 9*v*; Mallette, "Muhammad in Hell"; Celli, "'Cor per medium fidit'"; Birkeland, *Legend of the Opening*; Cerulli, "La leggenda della purificazione del cuore di Maometto," in Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche*, 277–79; Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Le voyage initiatique*; Vuckovic, "Purification: The Opening of Muhammad's Breast," in Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, 18–25; Colby, *Narrating Muhammad's Night Journey*; Gruber and Colby, *The Prophet's Ascension*; Zilio Grandi, *Il viaggio notturno*, xxvi. On the use of *Paradise Lost* by John Milton in the translation of the Qur'an by George Sale, see Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment Qur'an*, 56–58.

5. M. Fubini, "Canto XXVIII," in Marcazzan, *Lectura Dantis scaligera*, 999–1021, esp. 1016; Rossi, "Maometto, Pier da Medicina"; Momigliano, commentary to *La Divina Commedia*; P. Allegretti, "Canto XXVIII," in Günter and Picone, *Lectura Dantis Turicensis*, 393–405, esp. 400. A comparison between the punishment of Muhammad and that of Judas is in Lieberknecht, "A Medieval Christian View of Islam."

6. Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, 21–22, which discusses Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*; Rubin, "Muhammad's Night Journey."

7. Lugo Acevedo, *El libro de las luces*, 357–59; Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 84; Lazarus-Yafeh, "A Seventeenth-Century Hebrew Translation," esp. 205–6; de la Cruz Palma, "Notas a la lectura"; Burnett, "Arabic into Latin"; Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia." Mateos Paramio, *Memoria de los moriscos*, contains a bibliography of works on the ascension of the Prophet Muhammad of Iberian Moriscos.

8. Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, 19: 701; Battisti and Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, 5: 3577; Cortelazzo and Zolli, *Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana*, 5: 1242. For the backdating of *sparare* and the thirteenth-century examples, see Colussi, *Glossario degli Antichi Volgari*, 16: pt. 6, 167–68. The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612), defined the verb "propriamente fender la pancia per cavarne gl'interiori," harking back to the Latin *exenterare*. The *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana, nuovamente compilato dai signori Niccolò Tommaseo e Cav. Professore Bernardo Bellini* (1872), goes back to the Greek σπαράσσω, *lacerare*, for "lacero, dilanio, strappo, squarcio" (lacerate, tear apart, tear off, rip up) (Tommaseo, *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, 4: pt. 1, 1063). A different origin was advanced by A. Castellani, "Termini militari d'epoca rinascimentale," esp. 45: "un *parare* preceduto da *s* intensivo, o meglio un lat. volg. **exparare* con *cx* di valore intensivo e non sottrattivo, termine tecnico culinario: 'preparare un volatile, o una lepre, coniglio, pesce, ecc. per la cottura vuotandolo degl'intestini.'"

9. Torri, *L'Ottimo commento della Divina Commedia*, v. 1: *Inferno*, 155; Landino, *Comento sopra la Comedia*, v. 4: *Paradiso*, 1618; Varazze, *Leggenda Aurea: volgarizzamento toscano*, 2: 926–27; Varazze, *Legenda Aurea, con le miniature*, 2: 826. Italics added in quotations in this paragraph.

10. *Alcorano*, vii*r*. Italics added in all quotations in this section.

11. Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 59*r*. For a modern edition of the Spanish text, see Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*.

12. Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 9*r*.

13. Andrés, Confusión o confutación, 98.

14. Ferroni, *Poesia italiana*, 306; Lando, *Paradossi, cioè sentenzie*, 123; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 98; Terzaghi, "Ritratto dell'ambasciatore," 155–57.

15. Montecroce, *Richardi ex ordine fratrum. . . .*; Piemontese, "Il corano latino," 239, includes the *Liber Scalae* among the variable but frequent texts of the *Corpus islamolatinum*, former *Collectio toletana*; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 2: 83–165, esp. 143. On Postel, see Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche*, 203. For the reference to Lucian, see "Il vecchio e il nuovo mondo visti da Utopia," in Ginzburg, *Nessuna isola*, 17–44, esp. 31–32.

16. Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche*, 121–204.

17. For parallels between the *fábula milesia* and the Qu'ran in Spain in the 1540s, see D. Gagliardi, "Malos libros," esp. 7–8; Echevarría Arsuaga, "La reescritura"; Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 45*r*; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 179; *Alcorano*, viii*r*; M. Dardano, "Spera," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*.

18. Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 45*v*; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 180; *Alcorano*, viii*v*; A. Niccoli, "Restare," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*.

19. Angelo, *Epistola Pauli Angeli*, 48*v*–50*r*. On the *Turcica* of Paolo Angelo, see La Porta, *La vita di Scanderbeg*. Ricoldo's text is from Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche sul libro della Scala*, 349. *Machumetis Saracenorum*, 144; Mérigoux, "L'ouvrage d'un frère"; Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter*, 28; Burman, "How an Italian Friar."

20. Suriano, *Opera nova*, 103*r*.

21. Ibid., 103*r*; Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche*, 61 and 360–66.

22. Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 45*v*; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 180; *Alcorano*, viii*v*.

23. A. Niccoli, "Figgere," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*; F. Anceschi, "Fiso" and "Fisso," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*; D. Dotto, "Figgere," in *Opera del vocabolario Italiano*, 3: "rivolgere lo sguardo in maniera esclusiva e continua in una determinata direzione." The first example cited is *Paradiso*, 1: 54: "e fissi li occhi al sole oltre nostr'uso."

24. Siptabina Pisano, *Itinerario asyatico*; *Alcorano*, viiiv; Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 46*r*; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 181.

25. A. Duro, "Cadere" and "Agghiacciare," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*; M. C. Camboni, "Cadere," in *Opera vocabolario Italiano*. According to Paolo Angelo, the Prophet does not fall but his back "agghiaccia," i.e., "freezes": Angelo, *Epistola Pauli Angeli*, 49*r*: "Et dice che Dio lo tochò infra le spalle, de la quale tocare fu percosso esso Machomet da tanta fredura de la man frigida de Dio che quasi se agiaciò tutta la schina," translating from Ricoldo's *Contra legem* (I quote from Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche*, 349): "Tetigitque me Deus manu sua inter humeros usque adeo ut usque ad medullam spine dorsi mei manus eius frigiditas perveniret." Thus, in Bartolomeo Picerno's version, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 2: 145: "Et tetigit me Deus manu eius inter humeros, usque adeo, ut ad medullam spinae dorsi mei frigiditas manus eius pertransiret."

26. D'Aguanno, "Varianti lessicali."

27. *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: 215; *Alcorano*, 10*v*. On *Halmahereig*, see Piemontese, "Il corano latino di Ficino," 239; Tommasino, "Sobre el Pseudo Pedro Pascual," esp. 205.

28. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, 7 and 13–14; Tolan, "Anti-Hagiography"; Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic*, above all "Simon Magus, Nicolas of Antioch, and Muhammad," 221–40; Ratkowitsch, "Das Grab des Propheten"; Dalmas, *Dante nella crisi religiosa*, 254–55 and 261–62.

29. Madrid, RAH, Gayangos, 1922/36. The copy was bought by Pascual de Gayangos (1809–97) in London in 1839. It probably comes from the library of the collector Richard Heber (1773–

1833). See *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber Esq.*, 80, n. 797; Ruiz García, "Ante la próxima aparición"; Rodriguez, *Biblioteca Valentina*, 275; Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*, 77–78. In the seventeenth century a copy of the work by Figuerola was acquired by Camillo Massimo (1620–77), apostolic nuncio in Madrid in 1654–58 and a collector of Arabic codices. Ludovico Marracci frequented his library in Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, consulting there at least two commentaries of the Qur'an. It also seems that Figuerola's manuscript was copied by the Maronite Mirhiğ ibn Mikhā'īl ibn Namrūn al-Bānī, that is, Antonio Fausto Naironi (1628–1711). On Marracci, see C. A. Nallino, "Le fonti arabe manoscritte," esp. 333; on the Arabic codices of Camillo Massimo, see Orsatti, *Il fondo Borgia*, 147–48. On Antonio Fausto Naironi, copyist of Figuerola's treatise, see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, 12: *Le Mahométisme*, 147: "Un manuscrit copié par Nairon, à Rome."

30. *Alcorano*, 85*v*; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: 163. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, 110–21.

31. *Alcorano*, 5*v*, and 13*v*.

32. Pertile, *Annotationi nel Dante*; Dalmas, *Dante nella crisi religiosa*.

CHAPTER 6

1. *Delle lettere*, lxiii*v*–lix*r*; Dalmas, *Dante nella crisi religiosa*, 7; Prosperi, *L'eresia del Libro Grande*, 103–5. On the heterodox environment in Mantua, see Pagano, *Il processo*; Rhodes, "A Bibliography of Mantua." On anticlericalism as literary pose, see Brambilla, *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio*, 321–43; Pasquini, "Clero e pubblico parrocchiale."

2. *Delle lettere*, lx*v*; Vallone, "La 'Lettera a Dante' di Niccolò Franco," in Vallone, *Percorsi danteschi*, 95–108; Vergerio, *Che cosa sieno*; Ochino, *Dialogo del Purgatorio*, 130. On the *Divine Comedy* in the Arab world, see Benigni, "La Divina Commedia"; Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici*, 168 and 228.

3. I quote from the Italian translation of Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, Greenblatt, *Amleto in Purgatorio*, 28. On the development of the belief in purgatory, see Thiel, "Time, Judgement"; Asín Palacios, *Dante e l'Islam*, 175–89 ("Il purgatorio musulmano nella Divina Commedia"). See Cerulli, *Il "Libro della Scala"*, 522, for the influence of the *Corpus islamolatinum* on Dante's Purgatory. Gizzi, *Il ponte del capello*.

4. Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, 91: "Andrea Arrivabene used the same manuscript text of Robert of Ketton's translation to provide an Italian version of the Quran, published in Venice in 1547"; *Alcorano*, 14*r*; Segesvary, *L'Islam et la Réforme*, 191; Alverny, "Deux traductions," 87.

5. Burman, "Tafsīr and Translation," esp. 717; Amsterdam, EHB, HS.EH.48.D.20, 57*v*.

6. *Alcorano*, 79*v*.

7. Martínez Gázquez, *Alchoran Latinus*; *Alcorano*, 46*v*; Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza*, 41.

8. Bausani, *Il Corano* (1955), 7: 35–36 and 46, but I quote from Bausani, *Il Corano* (1996), 108–10 and 548–49: "The term that I translate 'Limbo' is *a'rāf* in Arabic, which literally means 'heights' or 'mountain crests,' or even the 'border of a piece of clothing' (similar to the Latin *limbus*, 'border' of Paradise). However, my 'Limbo' should not be afforded a content that is too precise theologically speaking. The commentators, as well as the West and the East, are not sure about the meaning of this term, though they all agree that it refers to the highest part of a wall or some other barrier between Hell and Paradise. . . . A place of *waiting*, in any case, the wait for God's arbitrary order, not of *purgation*, though for some Western commentators and in some Eastern traditions the *a'rāf* has on some occasions been considered a purgatory." *The Qur'an (Haleem)*, 96. Lange, *Justice, Punishment*, 125, stresses the diversity between the two different levels of hell according to medieval exegetic tradition. "In *al-barrāniya*, the damned are punished for a limited time. However, purgatory has never been crystalized in a 'third realm' between hell and paradise as is the case in the Christian Catholic tradition. I also distinguish *al-a'rāf* (the Heights) indicating it as a true and proper limbo, not to be confused

with purgatory, however."

9. *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: xvii, 52–53; Martínez Gázquez, *Alchoran Latinus*: "Azoara [XVII] 'Septima' . . . 35 Fili Ade, uobis iam aduenit de uobis nuntius mea precepta laturus, 34 quibus omnis contradicens et se retrahens igne perpetuo punietur. 36 Timens autem et obediendo benefaciens, expers timoris atque molestie, paradisi gaudio perfruetur. 37 Quis uero peior imponente Deo mendacium aut suis contradicente preceptis? . . . 46 Inter hos quidem et illos in quodam quasi limite sublimi stabunt quidam discrete scientes, horum et illorum facies, qui nequaquam paradisum ingredientes, *sed illud sperando expectantes*."

10. *Alcorano*, 46*v*–47*r*. The transformation of *al'arāf* in "Purgatorium" is explicit in the Latin translation of the Qur'an by the Greek Orthodox Cyril Lucaris. And this time, we can assume in an Orthodox and Protestant, hence anti-Catholic and anti-Islamic, key; Lucaris, *La traducción latina*, 65–66: "VII 44(46) Et inter utrosque est separamentum | Et in *Purgatorio* sunt uiri qui unumquemque nouerunt nomine suo et clamauerunt ad eos qui sunt in Paradiso: 'Pax sit uobis'; sed non intrabunt eum quamuis cupiant." On the Catholic part, in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Saint Joseph, *Gazophylacium*, 318 (Italian column): "Tengono dunque li Mahometani il purgatorio; del quale v'è il cap. (*aeraf* [*al-a'rāf*, in Arabic in the text]) nell'Alcorano, e da chi l'imparorno si non dall'antichi Cristiani?"

11. *Alcorano*, 46*v*–47*r*; Donadoni, "Di uno sconosciuto poema," esp. 140; Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae*, 55*r*–*v*: "De purgatorio igne fama ad eum a Christianis et Iudaeis pervenerat. Huius purgationis opinionem excitavit inter mortales divinae iustitiae post hanc vitam constantia ab Hebraeis primum, deinde a Pythagora, qui animorum migrationem huius rei gratia introduxerunt, animadversa. Christiani autem, et si videbant lavacro Baptismatis hereditariae contagionis culpam et poenam culpae debitam extingui, tamen indicarunt etiam pravarum actionum reliquias animae post poenitentiam inhaerentes, aut praesentis vitae molestiis, aut venturae expurgationibus elui oportere. Huius penae metu, nonnulli Baptismum suum in extremam aetatem distulerunt, e quorum numero Constantinus Imperator fuisse perhibetur. Vetus igitur Purgatorii asseveratio, iam usque a veteris Testamenti ducta temporibus, Machabeorum historia, Gregorii, Niseni, Basilii, Nazianzeni, Athanasii, Theodoreti Gyrenensis, Macrinae sororis Basilii gravissimis testimoniis, ut Syros, Aethiopias et Latinos omittam, corroboratur. Caeterum cum Christianorum mores vitiis indies adeo corrumperentur, ut passim ab omnibus remedia potius ad restinguendum purgationis ignem quaererentur, quam contra vitiorum tyrannidem auxilia, periit ignis Purgatorii ratio, cum utilis Ecclesiae tum necessaria, apud eos etiam a quibus conservari vel maxime debuisset. Cum non raro peccandi libertas, non peccati supplicium redemptum fuisse sit animadversum. Crevit deinde pastorum cupiditas, ovium malitia, quam sequuta est optimarum legum dissolutio, et postremo ab hominibus, qui nullos quaestus in hac re facere poterant, non solum nundinationi huic lis illata fuit, sed etiam ingens seditio ad versus inferos et superus concitata, in qua leges, religio, continentia, rerum dominia linguis et calamis istorum, pro libidine quottidie transferuntur." On translation and ideology, see Calzada Pérez, *Apropos of Ideology*. See also San Vicente et al., *Ideolex: Estudios de lexicografía e ideología*.

12. Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae*, 55*v*: "Cum non raro peccandi libertas, non peccati supplicium redemptum fuisse sit animadversum. Crevit deinde pastorum cupiditas, ovium malitia, quam sequuta est optimarum legum dissolutio et postremo ab hominibus, qui nullos quaestus in hac re facere poterant, non solum nundinationi huic lis illata fuit sed etiam ingens seditio ad versus inferos et superos concitata in qua leges, religio, continentia, rerum dominia linguis et calamis istorum pro libidine quottidie transferuntur." Slights, *Managing Readers*, 2, 25, 38–39, 223–62.

13. On adaptation and interreligious translation between Islam and Christianity, see Carnoy, *Représentations de l'Islam*; Aragona, *Il Meschino*; Bausi, "'Con agra zampogna.'"

14. Petrus Pons, "Liber Alchorani," 104: "Semper inter eos est chaos et inter gentes sunt nonnulli, qui cognoscuntur omnes in effigie religiosi. Et clamarunt socios Paradisi: 'Pax uobis'. Non introeuntes in eum et sperabant." I quote from the PhD thesis by Petrus Pons. See also Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus latinus*; Starczewska, "Latin Translation," 188: "VII 44/[46] Inter quos

unum velamen et super murum stant uiri qui cognoscent omnes per facies eorum. Et fuerunt uocati illi, qui sunt in paradiso: 'Salus Dei sit uos'. Et non sunt ingressi, et cupiebant iam ingredi"; Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus*, 2: 269: "Et inter utrosque erit velamen (idest inter beatos, et damnatos) et super Alaraph stabunt viri, qui cognoscent omnes illos ex signis eorum; et clamabunt ad habitatores Paradisi: 'Pax super vos.' Non tamen intrabunt in eum, et ipsi nibilominus avide cupient intrare."

15. *The Qur'an*, 194; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: xxix, 20, 100; *Alcorano*, 63*r*.

16. Petrus Pons, "Liber Alchorani," 282; Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus*, 2: 580; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: 31, 138; Martínez Gázquez, *Alchoran Latinus*: "Azoara [45] 'Tricesima sexta' 66 Si uellemus oculos uestros clauderemus, ne purgatorium ignem transeundum uideretis"; Starczewska, "Latin Translation," 438; *Alcorano*, 75*v*.

17. See O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Vázquez, *Desde la penumbra*.

18. The use of *ṣirāṭ* in a purgatorial sense will witness its sixteenth-century fortune in the Jesuit Salmerón, who reads one of the thirteen articles of Islamic faith of Morisco origin. "Disputatio XXIIII," in Salmerón, *Disputationum in epistolas*, 2: 293: "Haec etiam fidem vel impurus Machometus in Alcorano, in decimo articulo fidei testatur: Crede quod omnes transibunt *per Purgatorium*, alii plus, alii minus. Arabs quo Algazel Purgatorium statuit. lib. 2. philosophiae suae, tract. 5 c. 5." On the thirteen articles of the Islamic faith, see Harvey, "Thirteen Articles." Wiegers, *Islamic Literature*, 92–98. *I Tredici articoli di fede* seem to also have been used by Menavino; see in the *Alcorano*, xliiii*r*. For Al-Gazālī, see also Eck, *De Purgatorio*, 12*r*: "Sic Algazel Arabs purgatorium asserit in sua philosophia lib.ii.tract.v.cap.v." That is to say, in Al-Gazālī, *Logica et philosophia Algazelis Arabis*, bk. 5, ch. 5 ("De infelicitate anime dampnate"). The use of Al-Gazālī as proof of the existence of purgatory deserves further study.

19. Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*; Moreira, *Heaven's*; Pissarello and Serpillo, *Purgatorio e purgatori*, 63–70. For the Duecento and the Trecento, see Biblioteca Egidiana, *Escatologia*; Di Fonzio, "La leggenda del Purgatorio" (2000); C. Di Fonzio, "La leggenda del Purgatorio" (1999); Seriacopi, "La questione del 'Purgatorio.'" On the Quattrocento, see Alès, "La question du purgatoire"; Franceschini, "The Nudes in Limbo"; Franceschini, "Immagini dell'aldilà"; Franceschini, "Dibattiti sul peccato originale." On the Cinquecento, see Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*.

20. Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, 177–316, esp. 170–71 and 183, 229. Another social and cultural study on purgatory is by Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*. See also Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, 126–61, esp. 128; Moore, "Building the Ramparts."

21. Constable and Kritzeck, *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956*; Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*; Constable, *Cluny*; Knight, *The Correspondence*, 9: "A New Crusade: Bernard, Ep. 364; Peter, Letter 164," 201–25, esp. 216 (on the rhetorical use of the adjective *purgatorius* in the Crusade propaganda); Tolan, "Peter of Cluny Attacks Saracen Heresy," in *Saracens*, 155–65, esp. 164. On Cluny and Spain, see Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España*.

22. Madrid, RAH, Gayangos 1922, 36, 21*r.a* and 140*r.a*, 140*v.a*; Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, 201–3 (on Peter Lombard). On the role of Giuliano da Toledo (642–90) and his influence on Peter Lombard and on the twelfth-century theologists, see García Herrero, "Notas sobre"; Toledo, *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* (2012). On the success of this work in the sixteenth century, see the edition of the publisher and apologist for purgatory Johann Cochläus (1479–1552), Toledo, *Prognosticon futuri saeculi*. For a discussion and denial of the Catholic purgatory in the Morisco milieu, see Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos*, 281–83; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*. On the role of Islam in the sixteenth-century polemic on purgatory, see Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 31–38; Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, 172.

23. Pientini, *Delle demostrationi degli errori*; Pientini, *Alcorano riprovato*, [2]*r*, 4, 11, and 230–37: "Che la setta macomettana erra grandemente quanto al purgatorio."

24. Pientini, *Alcorano riprovato*, 231. Halevi defines the *barzakh* as "Islamic Purgatory" in *Muhammad's Grave*. On the wait on earth and the torment of the pit, see Vázquez, *Desde la*

penumbra; García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*; Obregón, "Revelación y fabuloso tormento de la fuessa" in *Confutación del Alcorán*, 67*v*–69*r*: "Los moros han de ser preguntados en la fuessa si fueron buenos moros, y si creyeron todo quanto Mahoma les dixo, y si hizieron lo que Mahoma les dixo que hiziessen, y que Dios ayudara a los que fueron buenos moros, y que desamparará a los descreyentes para que allí sean atormendatos, y dize la Suna, y todos los moros y mahometanos lo creen por artículo de fe." A reference to this point of faith can be found in Giovanni Antonio Menavino, quoted in *Alcorano*, xliiii*r*: "Più oltre anchora trovano nel detto libro che Caim debbia essere il primo che debbia andare nello 'nferno: perché essi dicono niuna anima insino al giorno del giudicio potere andare allo 'nferno, ma che stanno tutte in questo mezzo nel purgatorio." The relationship between Menavino and Morisco sources needs further investigation. Du Ryer, *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*, [8]*r*: "Ils prient Dieu pour les trapassez, ils invoquent leurs Saincts desquels ils ont une grande legende, néanmoins ils ne croyent pas au Purgatoire, et plusiers d'entr'eux estiment que les ames et les corps demeurent ensemble dans le tombeau jusques au jour du Jugement." See also Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, 94–95; on the purgation on earth, see Zarri, "Purgatorio 'particolare.'"

25. García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*.

26. Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*. The expression *ignis purgatorius pontificius* is taken from Zoëga, *Disputatio Inauguralis*. . . . I quote from Bellarmino, "Tertia Controversia Generalis de Ecclesia, quae sit in Purgatorio, duobus libri explicata," in *Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani*. . . . , 744 and 747. On seventeenth-century works concerning purgatory in Eastern tradition, see in particular Naironi, *Euoplia fidei Catholicae Romanae*, 314–17, esp. 317: "quinimo hunc locum in quo animae purgantur admittunt ipsi Mahometani." See also Allacci, *De utriusque Ecclesiae occidentalis* (Jewish sources, including Cabalistic sources, are numerous).

27. Nau, *Ecclesiae romanae graecaeque*; Tommasino, "Discussioni di confine"; Mulsow, "Socinianism."

28. Caballeria, *Tractatus zelus Christi*, 133.

29. Botero, *Dell'uffitio del Cardinale*.

CHAPTER 7

1. Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius*; Roggema, "A Christian Reading"; Szilágyi, "Muhammad and the Monk"; Griffith, "Muhammad and the Monk."

2. Alessandro D'Ancona's exemplar of the *Alcorano di Macometto* is held in Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, D'Ancona 16.7.10. D'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto," esp. 253; the article was republished in 1994 as a short essay.

3. Cherchi, *Polimatia di riuso*, 186–92. Manuzio, "Epistolae," 103*r* and 127*r*; Memmo, *L'oratore*; *Orazioni diverse*; *Orazioni diverse et nuove*; *Diverse orazioni volgarmente*; Folena, *Orazioni scelte*, xxii; Bárberi Squarotti, *Machiavelli*, 289; Braida, *Libri di lettere*, 6; Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. See also Zacchia, *Lettere del gran Mahumeto*, the collection of Ottoman humanistic epistolography edited by Dolce; and see D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, 59. On Italian humanists and political Islam, see Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, especially chapters 4, "Translations of Empire," and 5, "Wise Men in the East."

4. Lausberg, *Elementi di retorica*, 20 (I quote from the Italian translation of *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*).

5. Giustinian, *De origine urbis Venetiarum*. A manuscript version of the work is in Venice, BCMC, ms. Cicogna 1809. Italian transl. is in Giustinian, *Historia di m. Bernardo Giustiniano*. I quote from the 1492 edition, 55*v*–61*v*; and from the 1545 edition, cvii*r*–cxix*r*.

6. Giustinian, *De origine urbis Venetiarum* [I quote from the 1492 incunabulum], 56*r*, 57*v*–58*r*; Giustinian, *Historia di m. Bernardo Giustiniano*, cvii*v* and cxii*r*.

7. Tommasino, "Muhammad e la cerva"; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, which follows a

seminal article by Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders"; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; Sabellico, *Rapsodie historiarum*; Egnatius, *In hoc volumine*, Italian translation in *Le vite degl'Imperadori Romani*, Corio, *L'historia di Milano*.

8. Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia*, 53*r*: "Syrum enim Arabes Surgium appellant, et nascentis ecclesiae Christiani Monachi, eorumque domus Monasteria vocabantur, ut testis est Philo"; *Alcorano*, iii*v*: "se gli offerisce Siro chiamato Surgio, perché era come dice Philone monacho cacciato per l'heresia Nestoriana, della quale era settatore dal grembo della chiesa di Costantinopoli"; de la Cruz Palma, "La llegenda de Mahoma"; Petrus Pons, "La llegenda de Mahoma."

9. Stella, "Utopie e velleità insurrezionali," 159.

10. *Alcorano*, iii*v*; italics added.

11. Ibid., V*r*.

12. Giustinian, *Historia di m. Bernardo Giustiniano*, cx*v*–cxi*v*.

13. Giustinian, *De origine urbis Venetiarum*, 57*r*–*v*.

14. Viroli, *Il Dio di Machiavelli*. For a critique of Viroli, see Barbuto, "Lettere non tanto chiare." See also Procacci, *Machiavelli nella cultura europea*, 118–19; Scarpa, "Giovan Maria Memmo," esp. 433–34. Ginzburg, *Maquiavelo*, 95, points out Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 1: 2, *De simulata religione*, as well as other fifteenth-century works in which Muhammad is likened to more than one figure *qui cum deo fertur locutus*. See Scala, *Bartholomeus Scala de legibus*, 256–82; on Scala, see also Canfora, *Prima di Machiavelli*, 85–86, and on Valerio Massimo and the *simulata religio*, see Mueller, *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*; Prosperi, *L'eresia del Libro Grande*, 183–85. On the religious principle of Numa, see Patrizi, *Il sacro regno*.

15. Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 39.

16. *Alcorano*, ix*r*; Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca*, 1: xi; I wish to thank Michelina Di Cesare for having pointed out to me the examples mentioned, now published in Di Cesare, *The Pseudo-Historical Image*, 64, 86, and 320. González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación*, 92; Collenuccio, *Compendio delle historie*, 14*v*; Masi, *Dal Collenuccio a Tommaso Costo*; *Alcorano*, iv*v*.

17. For the text of the *Pazzia*, see *La Pazzia*, Nuovo Rinascimento online; Rosello, *Il ritratto*, 117 and 148; Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, 443; Rosaccio, *Discorso di Gioseppe Rosaccio*, 5; Perini, "Gli eretici italiani"; Vasoli, *Immagini umanistiche*, 491–525. On the political use of the myth and on the three impostors, see the chapter "Mito, distanza e menzogna" in Ginzburg, *Occhiacci di legno*, 40–81; Davidson, "Unbelief and Atheism," 84. Siptabina Pisano, *Itinerario*, 24*v* and 25*v*.

18. *Alcorano*, i*v*.

19. Ibid., 17*r*; D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, 13; D'Ascia, "L'impero machiavellico," esp. 111–14. On the political use of religion, see Vasoli, "Machiavelli"; Smith, "Opium of the People"; Silk, "Numa Pompilius," esp. 877–78.

20. Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 121; Ricci, *I Turchi alle porte*, 89.

21. *Alcorano*, ii*v*; Prosperi, "Il principe, il cardinale, il papa," esp. 258–59; Stroumsa, "Enlightenment Perceptions," esp. 196; Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, x; Champions, "Legislators, Impostors"; "La forza della religione," in Bianchi, *Rinascimento e libertinismo*, 122–36, esp. 132–35; Khayati, "Le statut de l'Islam"; see also Thomson, "L'Europe des Lumières."

22. *Alcorano*, iv*v*–v*v*.

23. Tommasino, "Roman Prophet of Muslim Caesar," n.p.; Casale, "Seeing the Past," esp. 83. See also on pro-Ottoman literature, Pulido-Rull, "A Pronouncement of Alliance"; Lippi, "1517"; Lippi, "'Per dominar il mondo. . . . ,'" (in four parts) 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007; Lippi, "'Born to Rule the World.'"

24. *Alcorano*, iv*v*–v*v*; Sand, *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*, 210; Addante, *Eretici e libertini*, 77; Bergua Cavero, *Francisco de Enzinas*, 113; Enzinas, *Epistolario*, 206–7, 366–68, 444–45. I

thank the anonymous editor of the article "Translating the Qur'ān" for alerting me to the works on Francisco de Enzinas.

25. *Alcorano*, i*r* and iii*v*–v*r*.

26. Giustinian, *De origine urbis Venetiarum*; see the exemplar in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, GG.17.15, 57*r*.

27. Florence, BNCF, ms. Palatino 1097, 107*r*–110*v*; see the essay "L'alto e il basso: Il tema della conoscenza proibita nel Cinquecento e Seicento" in Ginzburg, *Miti, emblemi, spie*, 107–32; Cavarzere, *La prassi della censura*, 224. For the practice of "reading for others," see Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

28. Florence, BNCF, ms. Palatino 1097, and 107*v*–108*r*.

29. Micanzio, "Annotazioni e pensieri"; Rosa, "La 'religione politica'"; Frajese, *Sarpi scettico*. In the Sarpi circles, Agostino Da Mula owned a Qur'an in Arabic: Cozzi, "Paolo Sarpi." See also G. Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani* (Venice: Combi e La Nou, 1679), 4, quoted in D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, 65; Barbierato, *Politici e ateisti*, 175; Barbierato, "Luterani, calvinisti e libertini"; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; Roscioni, *Sulle tracce dell' "esploratore turco"*.

30. Florence, MS. Palatino 1097, 109*v*.

31. Florence, BNCF, ms. Palatino 1097, 110*r*–*v*.

32. *Alcorano*, i*r*.

33. Giustinian, *De origine urbis*, 58*r*–*v*; *lcorano*, iii*r* and v*r*.

34. Pseudo-Ovidius *De Vetula*; see also the edition curated by Robathan; Roy, "Richard de Fournival"; Burnett, "The Astrological Categorization."

35. See at least political Muhammad in Boccalini, *De' ragguagli di Parnaso*, 304–1.

CHAPTER 8

1. Zilli, "Francesco Sansovino compilatore," 54–55. Zilli's discourse is based on Moz, "Francesco Sansovino, a Polygraph," 83–91, esp. 87.

2. Volpato, "Doglioni, Giovanni Niccolò"; Doglioni, *Compendio historico universale*, 207–8; Doglioni, *Del theatro universale*, 317–18.

3. Sansovino excludes the first two chapters of book 1, "Le cose da Dio create" (1*r*–*v*) and "La generatione di Macometto" (1*v*–6*r*) but reproduces all the remaining chapters: "La Natività di Macometto" (6*r*–8*r*); "La Nodritura di Macometto" (8*r*–10*r*); "La Vita i costumi la forma la statura, e l'oppinioni di Macometto" (10*v*–13*v*); "Di Eubocara successore di Macometto" (13*v*–14*r*); "Aomar successore di Eubocara" (14*r*–*v*); "Odmen successore d'Aomar" (14*v*–15*r*); "Ali successore di Odmen" (15*r*–16*r*); "Alhacen successore di Ali" (16*r*); "Moauui successore di Alacen" (16*v*–17*r*); "Iezid successore di Moauui" (17*r*–*v*); "La Dottrina di Macometto" (17*v*–24*v*). Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 126–27; Yérasimos, "La Historia Universale," esp. 36–37; G. Lucchetta, "L'Oriente mediterraneo," esp. 394; Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino"; Mula, "'Dipinto in scrittura,'" esp. 261. On the censorship of Sansovino's text, see Vincenzo Lavenia, "La coranistica divulgativa e i suoi significati," in Marcocci, "Intorno all'Alcorano," 89–97.

4. Sansovino, *Dell'historia universale*, 16*r*; Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 126–27; Gagliardi, "Malos libros," 7–8; Ginzburg, "Il vecchio e il nuovo mondo visti da Utopia," in *Nessuna isola*, 31–32.

5. Zilli, "Francesco Sansovino compilatore," 54–55.

6. Sansovino, *Dell'historia universale*, 4*r*; Mexía, *Della selva*.

7. Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 100–101; Mexía, *Della selva*, 31*r*; Mexía, *Silva de varia lección*, 14–16 (Pedro Mexía adds "Nicolao Leonico" as source and model of the *Silva*); Pertusi, "Giovan Battista Egnazio," esp. 480–81 (for the fifteenth-century sources on the Ottomans); Cherchi, "La selva rinascimentale: profilo di un genere," in Cherchi, *Ricerche sulle*

selve rinascimentali, 9–41, esp. 24–25; Cherchi, *Polimatia di riuso*, 211–33, esp. 222 (on the source from which he draws his Turkish arguments, Giovanni Boemo, *Gli costumi, le leggi, e l'usanze di tutte le genti*, 1536, translated by Lucio Fauno in 1542); see also the translation of Leonico by Castrodardo as a model for the Renaissance selve; Gigliucci, *Furto e plagio*, 58; Mazzacurati and Plaisance, *Scritture di scritture*; Borsetto, *Il furto di Prometeo*; see also Figorilli, "'L'argute et facete lettere.'"

8. Mexía, *Della selva*, 311*r*–313*r*; Babetto, "L'Islam e la figura di Maometto," quoted by Cracco, *Tra Venezia e terraferma*, 611; Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 70–71

9. Mexía, *Della selva*, 320*v*; *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 2: 99–100, 104–5.

10. Mexía, *Della selva*, 317*r*–*v*; Montecroce, *I saraceni*, 83; D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, 71.

CHAPTER 9

1. Lucca, BSL, ms. Lucchesini 1271: [Scolio], *Poema sui Dieci Comandamenti* or *Il Settennario*, 47*r*; Donadoni, "Di uno sconosciuto poema"; Paoli, *I codici di Cesare*. The Fondo Cesare Lucchesini of the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca also preserves a copy of the *Alcorano* (third state), E.V.d.35.

2. Donadoni, "Di uno sconosciuto poema," 60.

3. *Alcorano*, vii*v*.

4. Lucca, BSL, ms. Lucchesini 1271, 27*r*; Donadoni, "Di uno sconosciuto poema," 80 and 141–42.

5. Lucca, BSL, ms. Lucchesini 1271, 4*r*.

6. Andrés, *Opera chiamata confusione*, 45*v*; Andrés, *Confusión o confutación*, 180; *Alcorano*, viii*v*.

7. On poets' memory, see Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*.

8. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi*, 135. See also the English translation, *The Cheese and the Worms*: I quote from both editions.

9. Del Col, *Domenico Scandella detto*, 204. See also the English translation, *Domenico Scandella Known as*; I quote from both editions. Sermidi, *Il carteggio*, 2: 249. On the circulation of Arabic Qur'ans in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Cozzi, "Paolo Sarpi"; on the Orientalist Causabon and his links to European Orientalists, see Hamilton, "Isaac Causabon the Arabist." See also Grafton and Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved"*; Roe, "New Documents"; Parker, "Women in the Book Trade" (on the circulation of Arabic books in Florence).

10. Belluno, ASB, Notarile, p.lo 6276, 191*r*–216*v* (January 17, 1593); Feltre, ACVF, b. 87, 123*r*–*v*, May 5, 1588. I would like to thank Donatella Bartolini and Katia Occhi who told me about these sources. See also Minella, *Giacomo Rovellio*.

11. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi*, 36 and 39, 125.

12. Del Col, *Domenico Scandella*, Italian edition, 66 and 148, n. 45; see also Del Col, "Il Menocchio lettore."

13. *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 1: xxxi, 105, 31–42; *Alcorano*, 65*r*; Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 2: 1 (Genesis); Neusner, *Confronting Creation*; Becker, *Die grossen rabbinischen*; Geiger, *Judaism and Islam*, 96–99; *The Qur'an* (Haleem), 21: 56–68; Ben Ari, "The Stories About Abraham," esp. 534; Zawanowska, *The Arabic Translation*.

14. Levine and Vahed, "Ginzburg's Menocchio," 463.

15. Lucca, BSL, Ms. Lucchesini, 1271, 29*r*.

16. Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent" (2012).

17. Adelman, "A Rabbi Reads the Qur'an"; already discussed in depth in Den Boer and Tommasino, "Reading the Qur'ān," esp. 477–81.

18. Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 10.

19. N. of Cusa, *Lettura dialettica del Corano*, 194–95; N. of Cusa "Cribratio Alchorani," 3: 12,

in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*, 2: 71, 43–72, 3: "Quod Alchoran male dicat Abraham fuisse idolatram, et vera historia ponitur." Akbari, *Idols in the East*; Rubiès, "Theology, Ethnography"; D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, 114; on Abraham the monotheist, also see the polemical work of Al-Kindī: González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, 31.

20. Cirillo and Frémaux, *Évangile de Barnabé*, chap. 18; Bernabé Pons, *El texto morisco*, chap. 28, 93; Bernabé Pons, *El Evangelio*; and Bernabé Pons, "Los mecanismos."

21. Contarini, "Delle Istorie veneziane." In polemic terms, between 1588 and 1603, Pientini, *Alcorano riprovato*, 50: "Macometto . . . passò a levare anco le sacre imagini. Et Lutero volse che si guastassero, rompessero o abbraciassero tutte. Macometto biasimava i christiani che adorassero la gloriosa Vergine et Christo, dicendo che egli facevano Dii, et universalmente levò via, come di tanti idoli, il culto di tutti i Santi. Et Lutero similmente niega l'adoratione universalmente di tutti i Santi, dicendo egli ancora, ma ignorantissimamente come sempre che adorare i Santi sia una manifesta idolatria."

CHAPTER 10

1. Florence, BNCF, ms. Palatino 1097, 109*r*.

2. *Alcorano*, 42*r*–*v*, 43*v*, 48*v*, 49*v*, 56*v*.

3. *Alcorano*, 58*r*, 69*v*, 74*v*.

4. De Frede, "Realtà e mito," esp. 264, who quotes from *Catalogo del Arcimboldo arcivescovo di Melano* (Tübingen: Morhard, 1554), a passage reported in Mantova, *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, 446–47; Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana*, 30; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, 139.

5. Tommasino, "Discussioni di confine."

6. Stella, *Dall'Anabattismo*, 28–29; Addante, *Eretici e libertini*, 33 and 83. According to Addante, the libertine ideas circulating in these spheres were what nourished Menocchio's creative skepticism; see his "Héresie radicale et libertinage," n.p. See the chapter "Islam et liberté de coscience à la Renaissance," in Berriot, *Spiritualités, hétérodoxies, et imaginaires*, 221–33; Olivieri, "La 'casa' dei Pellizzari."

7. Secret, "Guillame Postel" (1962), esp. 24, who refers to London, BL, ms. Sloane 1411, 318*v*; Stella, "Esperienze e influssi"; Leathers Kuntz, "L'orientalismo di Guglielmo Postello"; Leathers Kuntz, "Marcantonio Giustiniani"; Chaufepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique*, 4: 216; ; Chesneau, *Le Voyage*, 138; Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 324; *Alcorano*, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 4 BB 258, on the frontispiece "Ant. de Laval" and "J. de Rieux mar[quis] d'Assérac"; Faure, *Antoine de Laval*. The Montesquieu exemplar: *Alcorano*, Nanterre, Bibliothèque André-Desguine, B. 341. On the title-page frame: "ex biblioth. d. praesidis de Montesquieu Cat. inscr(iptus."

8. *Alcorano*, Oxford, Saint John's College Library, HB4/3.a.1.21, (1)*r*. On the title page: "Liber Henrici Pricej ex dono Thomae Horneri"; Exeter, Cathedral Library, C 79; *Alcorano*, London, BL, HMNTS C.107.b.18, XI*r*.

9. Exeter, Cathedral Library, C 79; Felici, *Profezie di riforma*; Comel, "Un inventario di libri"; Stella, "Utopie e velleità," 141 and 147; Stella, "Guido da Fano," esp. 225–26; Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*; Partridge, "Thomas Hoby's English Translation," esp. 777; Overell, *Italian Reform*, 88–91; Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*.

10. Firpo, *Pietro Bizzarri*, 24. On Bizzarri's Orientalistic interests, see chapter 3, "L'interesse per l'Oriente Mediterraneo: Le storie delle guerre d'Ungheria e di Cipro; la storia Persiana," 129–66, esp. 131; Hoby, *The Travels and Life*, 4, 8, and 17; Maurand, *Itinéraire du Jérôme Maurand*, 24.

11. Bartlett, "Thomas Hoby," esp. 123–24; Khoury, "Writing and Lying"; Thomas, *The History of Italy (1549)*, 137. See also Alderley, *Travels to Tana*, 1–101; Deidda, "Un viaggiatore rinascimentale," esp. 17; Sanna, "'A Boke Excedyng Profitable."

12. *Alcorano*, Oxford, Saint John's College Library, HB4/3.a.1.21; on the title page: "Liber Henrici Pricej ex dono Thomae Horneri"; *Alcorano*, London, BL, Ms. Add. 12060, 9*v*;

Castellione, *De haereticis*, 162.

13. Boccaccio, *Forty-Six Lives*, 160–61; Anselmi, "Tradizione rinascimentale italiana"; *Alcorano*, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 28.270. On the title page, lower part of the curtain in the frame, handwritten note of ownership: "Di Giac.(m)o Castelvetro"; see also Brummet, "Jacopo Castelvetro Collection."

14. *Alcorano*, London, Middle Temple Library, L (Ashley); Whitlock, "Robert Ashley."

15. Perini, "Libri e lettori," esp. 124; Landi, *Il governo delle opinioni*, 162–63; Luther, *Il catechesimo*, 3*r*; Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*; *De Arabische Alkoran*; Hodkinson and Morrison, *Encounters with Islam*; Gauthier, "Un allemand à Constantinople."

16. *Alcorano*, xx*r–v*; Ciappara, *Society and the Inquisition*, 112; Tolbert, "Ambiguity and Conversion"; López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*, 28; Fletcher, *A Study of the Life* (I quote from plate 2).

17. *Alcorano*, xx*v*.

18. Soranzo, *L'Ottomano di Lazaro Soranzo*, 115–16; Botero, *Dell'uffitio del Cardinale*, 58, 64–66. On the diffusion of printed books in the Adriatic, see Bonazza, "Il libro nel bacino," esp. 95–96; Ricci, *I Turchi alle porte*, 54. Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593), 572; Possevino, *Coltura degli ingegni*, 112, cited in Landi, *Stampa, censura*, 67; Caccamo, "La diplomazia."

19. *Alcorano*, 35*r*; on military borders and the relationships with Ottoman Islam, see Minchella, *"Porre un soldato"*; Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-quds*, 36–37; on the Jesuits and the Qur'an, see Khayati, "Confutatio Alcorani"; Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani*; Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 118.

20. *Alcorano*, Berkeley, UCBL, Ms. UCB 7, described as follows: "132 leaves, paper; 206 x 123 (159–165 x 104) mm bound to 214 x 132 mm"; *Catalogue of a Portion of the Collection of Manuscripts*, 118, n. 319: "Koran. L'Alcorano di Macometto nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi e le legge sue; tradotto nuovamente dall'arabo in lingua italiana (da Andrea Arrivabene) 1547, (CCCCLII), royal 8vo, ms. of the eighteenth century, on paper, 211 pages and 3 leaves preliminary. Russia."

21. Lazarus-Yafeh, "A Seventeenth-Century Hebrew Translation"; Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Books*, 1: 311.

22. I quote from Barbierato, *La rovina di Venetia*, 48–49; Marzari, *Sentiero per la gioventù*; Marzari, *Sentiero compendioso*.

23. Adelman, "A Rabbi Reads." I wish to thank Professor Adelman for having made available to me the ms. of Leon Modena; Adelman, "Failure and Success." Modena, *The Autobiography*; Adelman, "Rabbi Leon Modena"; Dweck, *The Scandal of Kabbala*.

24. Amsterdam, EHB, HS.EH.48.D.20, 193*v*–205*v* (extracts from Lope de Obregón, indicated as Marcos de Obregón); Obregón, *Confutación del Alcoran*, 5*v*. See now Den Boer and Tommasino, "Reading the Qur'an."

25. Amsterdam, EHB, HS.EH.48.D.20, 84*v*; *Alcorano*, 47*v*.

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While to translate a text is to move it from one language to another, the translation of this text was conceived and made after a translation of a different sort: my wife and I moved from Europe to the United States just as the Italian version of this book was being printed by the Italian publisher il Mulino in the fall of 2013. Since then, the book has been living its own life and meeting many generous people who deserve to be gratefully acknowledged here. First, I would like to thank the publisher, the University of Pennsylvania Press and, especially, Jerome Singerman who made this translation possible. Next, I would like to thank the colleagues who presented and discussed the Italian version of this book in Venice, Bergamo, Belluno, Bologna, Macerata and Turin, and reviewed it in Italian and international journals and newspapers. I learned immensely from all of them: Caterina Bori, Elisabetta Benigni, Lucio Biasiori, Paolo Branca, Paolo Conte, Massimo Firpo, Alastair Hamilton, Giovanni Grazioli, Vincenzo Guercio, Rita Librandi, Maria Elena Paniconi, Maria Pia Pedani and Claudio Visentin. Also, I would like to thank Giuseppe Marcocci, who organized a one-day seminar on the book at the Istituto Storico per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea in Rome on January 16, 2014. For several hours the book was dissected by expert and refined readers including Vincenzo Lavenia, Paola Molino, Angelo Michele Piemontese, Paolo Procaccioli, Giovanni Ricci and Marcello Verga. The proceedings of this stimulating discussion have been published by the Italian journal *Storica* in December 2014.

The Italian version of this book was written in the academic year 2012–2013, during which I was able to take advantage of a postdoctoral fellowship (JAEDOC) at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales (CSIC) in Madrid. I would like to thank Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano for all the help and support they gave to me. The Italian version was co-funded by the *Lila Acheson Wallace-Reader's Digest Publications Grant* at Villa I Tatti (Harvard, Firenze) and by the *Firb research project Oltre la guerra Santa. Relazioni tra Europa e Islam tra il XV e il XIX secolo* of the Italian Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca, based at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa.

During the last years in the United States, I have had the chance to discuss my work on the diffusion of the Qur'an in Europe with colleagues and students at Columbia University, Yale University, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Rutgers University, and Saint Louis University. I am grateful to Muhsin al-Musawi, Claire Gilbert, Fabien Montcher, Cynthia Pyle, Nigel Smith, Peter Stallybrass, Francesca Trivellato, and Alessandro Vettori for inviting and hosting me at these prestigious

institutions. I am also extremely grateful to the Mellon Modern Language Initiative at the University of Pennsylvania Press and to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Columbia University, especially to the former Dean, Pierre Force. They generously helped me in covering the costs of translation of the book. Without the help of Alessia Lefebure I would have never met, in a very hot summer in Bologna, the translator, Sylvia Notini. My thanks to Sylvia for a fantastic job and her boundless patience.

I am particularly indebted to the Department of Italian at Columbia University, to all our splendid students and especially to my colleagues Teodolinda Barolini, Jo Ann Cavallo, Barbara Faedda, Elizabeth Leake, Nelson Moe, and Konstantina Zanou, as well as to Lani Muller and Aurelia Rabot-Hernandez. They have always been very supportive and encouraging; and they believed in this translation project from the beginning. I would also like to thank Stefano Gulizia, Daniel Hershenzon, Seth Kimmel, Akash Kumar and Alexander Bevilacqua for the time they spent reading my work and for all their inspiring suggestions, Marco Sartore for helping me with the index of names, and Christina Rose Dyson for reminding me of the importance of a slow and careful *labor limae*. I revised the book in the library of Villa I Tatti (Harvard, Florence), during the sabbatical year 2016–2017. I would like to thank the director of Villa I Tatti, Alina Payne, for her kind hospitality and the Department of Italian at Columbia University and the Columbia College for the Chamberlain Fellowship that allowed me to spend a year reading, rewriting and researching in Italy and France. A special thanks goes to Anthony Grafton for his enthusiastic endorsement of this project and his willingness to introduce it to new readers. This Italian and American book is dedicated to an American and Italian kid: Ettore Luigi.